A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*

Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* ELIZABETH, *continued.* A. D. 1558.

THE Proteſtants, alarmed at the ſtorm which threatened them, employed the earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Cambel of Loudon, to expoſtulate with the regent, and to remind her of the promiſes ſhe had given them of protection. But, inſtead of a redreſs, their deputies met with the following impudent anſwer. "The

" promises of princes ought not to be too
" carefully remembered, nor the perform-
" ance of them exacted unless it suits their
" convenience."

The reformed religion had been publicly introduced into the town of Perth: but, in order to prevent it from increasing, she cited all Protestant teachers to appear before the council at Sterling, on the tenth of May.

The Protestants were indeed alarmed at these proceedings, but not intimidated. They had already entered into an association, in which they assumed the title of the Congregation of the Lord, in opposition to the established church, which they branded with the name of the Congregation of Satan. By the articles of this league, which was signed the third of December 1557, they stipulated, " to maintain, nourish, and
" defend, the whole congregation of Christ,
" and every member thereof, by their whole
" power, and at the hazard of their lives."
True to their faith, they assembled in great numbers and attended their pastors to Stirling, resolved not to abandon them in their distress, but either to protect them from injury, or to share with them in their calamity. The queen, dreading their approach, though they were unarmed, dispersed them

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by the influence of John Erſkin of Dun, who was authorized to acquaint them, in her name,* that ſhe would put a ſtop to the intended trial, on condition that the paſtors, and their attendants, advanced no nearer to Stirling. The promiſe having operated in the manner the queen deſired, ſhe acted conſiſtently with the principle already deſcribed, and, in open violation of her public faith, proceeded to call the perſons who had been ſummoned, to their trials; and, on their non-appearance, proceeded againſt them as rebels and outlaws. The Proteſtants were incenſed at this inſtance of perfidy, and Erſkine, enraged in having been made the tool of the regent, inſtantly abandoned Perth, and joined the reſt of the aſſociates. Knox, the reformer of Scotland, had been recalled, and returned a few days before this critical juncture. On his arrival he haſted to Perth, to ſhare the common danger with his brethren, or to aſſiſt them in promoting their common intereſt. While the ferment continued, which had been cauſed by the queen's perfidy, he mounted

* Hume, in his hiſtory of the Tudors, page 418, pretends to queſtion the authority of this promiſe; but if the character of Erſkine, and the conſequences of the queen's future meaſures be conſidered, the credit of this particular will want no other confirmation.

the pulpit, and, in a vehement harangue against idolatry, he incited his audience to exert their utmost efforts for its total subversion. The indiscretion of a Romish priest, who prepared to celebrate mass immediately after his sermon, gave vent to the intemperate warmth of his audience. With all the rage of zeal they assaulted the priest, broke the images, defaced the pictures, overturned the altars, scattered the vases, and levelled some of the monasteries with the ground. Though this exertion of popular fury was censured by the reformed preachers, and publickly condemned by persons of the greatest credit and power in their party, it incensed the queen so highly, that she resolved to chastise the perpetrators, by means of her army. She marched the troops in French pay towards Perth, thinking to surprize the Protestants; but the zeal of the party rendered her design abortive, and their numbers being encreased by the sudden junction of the earl of Glencairn, induced her to consent to an accommodation. The terms agreed on, by the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and the lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, were, "that the "queen should be received into Perth, on "condition of her granting an indemnity "to the inhabitants, and all persons con-

"cerned

"cerned in the late proceedings; that no "French garriſon ſhould be left in that "place; that no French ſoldiers ſhould ap- "proach within three miles of it; and that "a parliament ſhould immediately be cal- "led, to compoſe all the differences which "ſtill ſubſiſted."

But no ſooner were the forces of the Proteſtants diſbanded, than ſhe broke every article of the treaty. She introduced French troops into Perth, fined ſome of the inhabitants, baniſhed others, removed the magiſtrates from their offices, and left behind her a garriſon of ſix hundred men, with orders to permit the exerciſe of no other religion than the Roman Catholic. The treaty of Perth being thus violated, the earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrews, immediately quitted the court. The barons from the neighbouring counties joined them, the preachers rouſed the people to arms, and the enraged multitude made the churches and monaſteries feel the effects of their zeal.

The regent endeavoured to ſtem the torrent by force of arms, but the numbers of the Proteſtants appeared ſo formidable, that ſhe thought it ſafer to truſt to a negociation, than the event of a battle. Inſtead of obeying the regent, who had commanded

ed them to lay down their arms, the Scottiſh barons not only demanded the redreſs of their religious grievances, but inſiſted upon the immediate expulſion of the French troops out of Scotland, as a preliminary to any treaty. The regent being not empowered to agree to this preliminary, without the concurrence of the French monarch, agreed to a truce for eight days, before the expiration of which ſhe bound herſelf to tranſport the French troops to the other ſide of the Frith, and ſend commiſſioners to St. Andrews, to accommodate their differences. As ſhe hoped to intimidate the Proteſtants in the ſouthern counties, by means of the French troops, the firſt article in the treaty was punctually performed; but the latter, having been inſerted merely to amuſe the congregation, was no longer remembered.

The removal of the French forces, laid all the country between the Forth and the Tay open to the Proteſtants. The inhabitants of Perth, being expoſed to the inſolence of the French garriſon, implored their aſſiſtance; and the forces of the congregation, after having required the regent to evacuate it in vain, beſieged the town in form, and ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate. After the loſs of Perth, the regent

gent endeavoured to ſeize upon Stirling; but the leaders of the congregation forces prevented her deſign, by taking poſſeſſion of it beforehand. They marched with the ſame rapidity towards Edinburgh, which opened its gates to them on their approach; and the regent, at the ſame inſtant, quitted that city with the utmoſt precipitation, and retired to Dunbar, where ſhe ſhut herſelf up, in expectation of a reinforcement from France.

The Proteſtant army left the traces of religious fury wherever it came, and committed the utmoſt exceſſes of violence upon churches and monaſteries. The former were ſpoiled of every ornament which they accounted ſacred, and the latter were laid in ruins. But, amidſt theſe outrages, the humanity of the chiefs deſerves admiration; and what does honour to their conduct and authority, is, that they reſtrained the rage of their followers ſo far, that few of the Roman Catholics were expoſed to any perſonal inſult; and not a ſingle man ſuffered death. The ſucceſs of the reformed had ſo much intoxicated them, that they thought they had accompliſhed their purpoſe before they ha dſcarce adopted the meaſures proper to render it ſucceſsful; they retired to their habitations for want of money to ſupport them,

them, and left only a few of the more wealthy barons with their preachers at Edingburgh. The regent, being informed of their defenceleſs condition, marched in the night to Edinburgh, and filled the city with conſternation. But, by the interpoſition of the duke of Chatelrault, the regent agreed to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, on condition that the Proteſtants ſhould evacuate Edingburgh the next morning, return to their obedience to the regent, abſtain from all violation of religious houſes, and give no moleſtation to the eſtabliſhed clergy, either in the diſcharge of their functions, or in the enjoyment of their benefices: on the other hand, the regent promiſed to afford the ſame privileges to the preachers or profeſſors of the Proteſtant religion, to tolerate no other mode of worſhip in Edinburgh but that of the reformed, and to permit the free and public exerciſe of it all over the kingdom. Theſe liberal conceſſions were made with a view of rendering the Proteſtants more compliant, with reſpect to the retention of the French troops in Scotland; but her hopes were fruſtated. Their immediate expulſion was again demanded; and the regent, taking advantage of the diſtreſs of the Proteſtant party, made them reſt ſatisfied, for the preſent, with a declaration that Eding-

PHILIP II. King of *SPAIN.*

Engravd for Rider's History of England.

Edingburgh ſhould be exempted from receiving a French garriſon.

Immediately after the concluſion of this truce, the duke of Chatelrault, and the earl of Huntley, who had hitherto adhered to the regent, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in her intereſt, had an interview with the Proteſtants. They were alarmed at the tenaciouſneſs which the regent diſcovered with reſpect to the French troops, and apprehenſive that her reſolutions in that point might endanger the civil liberties of their country; and they aſſured Argyle, Glencairn, and the prior of St. Andrews, that if the regent violated any article in the truce, or refuſed any longer to diſmiſs the French mercenaries, they were reſolved inſtantly to join their countrymen, to compel her to a meaſure ſo neceſſary to the public ſafety, and the preſervation of their liberties.

At this juncture died Henry II. of France, of a wound he received in his eye by the ſplinter of a lance, at a tournament, held on account of his daughter's marriage with Philip II. of Spain. A ſhort time before his cataſtrophe he had entertained views, which, if purſued, might have produced peace between the nations. But his ſucceſſor Francis II. being a prince void of genius and experience, was an abſolute

ſolute tool in the hands of the houſe of Guiſe, who hurried him into meaſures, that correſponded with their ambition and vanity. Inſtigated by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal his brother, he was determined to ſuppreſs the Reformation in Scotland, which would otherwiſe prove an invincible obſtacle to their deſigns on England. Their preparations were carried on with vigour to ſupport the regent, who was encouraged to perſeverance by the aſſurance they gave her of a conſiderable re-inforcement. The lords of the congregation being informed of the preparations of the French, reſolved to divert the ſtorm which threatened them. And, being convinced that their ſecurity depended on their unanimity, and the vigour of their own reſolution, they endeavoured to cement their union by entering into a ſtricter bond of mutual defence. The duke of Chatelrault, and his eldeſt ſon the earl of Arran acceded to this aſſociation, and inſpired the confederates with reſolution, at the ſame time that they added reputation to their cauſe. The earl of Arran had reſided in France, where he commanded the Scottiſh guards, but having embraced the Proteſtant religion, was marked out by the princes of Lorraine as a victim to intimidate the reſt

of

of that perſuaſion, and to prevent the growth of their principles. But the cardinal of Lorraine having let fall ſome expreſſions which diſcovered his intentions to the earl, he avoided the intended blow by a ſudden flight. Fired with indignation, zeal, and reſentment, he made his way to his native country, and paſſing through England, had his paſſions ſtill more inflamed by Elizabeth, who inſpired him with an implacable averſion to France. The earl on his return to Scotland ſoon communicated his ſentiments to his father, the duke of Chatelrault, and induced him to join the congregation; of which party he was conſidered as the leader. But this honour was only nominal, for James Stewart the prior of St. Andrew's, was the perſon who actuated the whole body of the Proteſtants. This nobleman was the natural ſon of James V. by a daughter of lord Erſkine, and being deſigned for the church, had the priory of St. Andrew's conferred upon him: but being diſguſted with the inactivity of a monaſtic life, he left the cloiſter, and appeared at the head of the reformed. He was poſſeſſed of every talent which was neceſſary to render him conſpicuous in the new character he had aſſumed. To the deepeſt ſkill in

politics he had joined the moſt eminent degree of military virtue, and was not only endued with great perſonal bravery, but was likewiſe completely maſter of the art of war. His ſagacity and penetration in civil affairs enabled him to compoſe the turbulence of faction, while the intrepidity he ſhewed in defence of the Reformation, and the ſeverity of his manners gained him the reputation of being ſtrongly attached to religion, and worthy of all the confidence which was repoſed in him by his party.

The regent dreaded the abilities of ſo great a man, and being unable to weaken his fidelity by her artifices, ſhe endeavoured to ruin his intereſts, by exciting ſuſpicions of his ambition, and repreſenting him as one who had views of making himſelf maſter of the crown. But as he had conſented to a voluntary exile in France, on condition, that the public grievances were redreſſed, the inſinuation gained but little credit. Though the regent was diſappointed, and was ſenſible of the loſs ſhe ſuſtained in the defection of the the duke of Chatelrault, her hopes were ſoon revived by the arrival of a reinforcement of one thouſand men from France. Theſe forces were immediately ordered to fortify Leith, at which

place

place the regent intended to fix her head-quarters. This unpopular measure, rendered still more unpopular by the manner in which it was put into execution, determined the lords of the council to make their remonstrances to the queen dowager, and in case she refused to give them satisfaction, to make one generous effort to rescue religion from danger and their liberties from impending ruin. The regent, conscious of her advantages, and elate with the promises of more succours, treated their demands with disdain; and the arrival of more forces under the command of La Bressé, rendered her still more averse to an accommodation. In order to confirm the regent in the system of severity, Pellevé bishop of Amiens, a furious bigot, and three doctors of the Sorbonne were sent at the same time with the troops. The Catholic divines, instead of allaying the animosities increased them; they persuaded the regent to seize on the church of St. Giles, then in the hands of the Protestants, and having, under pretence of purifying it from the pollutions it had undergone in their possession, consecrated it a second time, they revived the rites of the Romish church. This fresh provocation, added to the contempt with which the regent received their

remonſtrances, convinced the congregation, that they could expect no redreſs but by the force of arms.* They had received certain intelligence from France, that the French auxiliaries already arrived, were but an inconſiderable part of what was intended to be ſent; great levies were making in Germany as well as France, and if they did not make head againſt their adverſaries before their numbers were increaſed, they were aſſured, they would not be able to do it at all. Knowing that the fortifications of Leith, though far advanced, were incomplete, they intended to ſurprize the place, and by one deciſive blow put an end to all contention. With this view they marched with great rapidity towards Edinburgh, but the regent receiving intelligence

* This appears from the following paſſage in Maitland's letter. "I pray zow, let not zour men dryve "tyme in conſultation, quhether ze ſall ſupport ws or "or no. Seyng the mater ſpeaketh for itſelf, that "ze mon take upon zow the defence of our caus giff "ze have any reſpect for zour and our weill. Theſe "preparatives in France, and levying of men in "Germany (quheroff I am lately advertiſed) ar not "altogydder ordeyned for us, ze ar the mark they "ſhote at; they ſeke our realme, but for ane entry "to zours." From the original letter in the Cottonian library at the Muſeum, dated January 20, 1560. marked *Caligula*, B. ix.

ligence of their motions, flung herſelf into Leith, with a reſolution to wait for further re-inforcements from France, and thereby fruſtrate the deſigns of the congregation. While ſhe remained in this town, by private ſollicitations and promiſes, ſhe ſhook the fidelity of ſome, and abated the ardour of others. Her emiſſaries, which were diſperſed in all parts to promote the ſame end, were ſo ſucceſsful, that Knox could not forbear pouring out vehement complaints againſt the ſupineneſs of his party. But a freſh inſtance of the regent's inſolence once more animated the zeal of the party; they had made a ſecond remonſtrance againſt her fortifying Leith, and the increaſe of the French mercenaries, in return to which ſhe aſſured them, ſhe would not, on account of any repreſentation from them, diſmiſs the forces, which ſhe found uſeful, or demoliſh a fortification which ſhe knew to be neceſſary; concluding, that if they did not diſband their forces, ſhe ſhould look upon them as traitors. Aſtoniſhed and ſhocked at the imperiouſneſs of this declaration, they immediately aſſembled a parliament conſiſting of the peers, barons and repreſentatives of the boroughs, before whom the lords of the congregation repreſented their grievance, and an act

was made whereby the regent was deprived of her government, for having incroached upon the conſtitution by introducing foreign troops into the kingdom during a profound peace; by ſeizing upon, and fortifying towns in different parts of the country, by promoting ſtrangers to offices of great power and dignity, by debaſing the current coin, ſubverting the ancient laws, impoſing new and burthenſome taxes, and by attempting to ſubdue the kingdom and oppreſs its liberties. After this act of patriotiſm they attacked Leith, but the garriſon refuſed to ſurrender, or to depart the kingdom; knowing that they had neither ſkill enough in the art of war to take a place by ſtorm, or poſſeſſed of artillery proper to carry on a ſiege. The adherents to the congregation uſed to decide all their conteſts in a battle, grow impatient under the fatigues of a ſiege; and the queen's emiſſaries, finding opportunities to heighten their diſguſt, inflamed them to a mutiny, in which ſeveral of their inferior officers were ſacrificed.

In this diſtreſs the congregation had recourſe to Elizabeth, with whom ſome of the party had already entered into a ſecret* cor-

* See the preceeding note.

correſpondence. The queen had for ſome time been appriſed of the deſigns which the French had formed againſt her crown, and, * was ſenſible that their progreſs in Scotland would endanger her own ſafety. She liſtened therefore with pleaſure to the applications of the Proteſtants, and gave them private aſſurances of ſupport. Randolph was diſpatched into Scotland, to obſerve the motions of the leaders of the congregation, and to animate them in their deſigns. A ſum of money was ſent which enabled the Scottiſh nobles to take the field and march towards Leith. But as this ſupply was ſoon exhauſted, the army of the congregation would have been diſperſed, had not Cockburn of Ormiſton been ſent to Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts the governours of Berwick who were ſent

* This appears by the following extract from a memorial ſtill extant in Cecil's own hand-writing: "If Scotland be to be in perpetual peace with Eng-"land, then it muſt be provided that Scotland be not "ſo abject to the appointment of France, as it is "preſently, which, being an ancient enemy to Eng-"land, ſeeketh always to make Scotland an inſtru-"ment, to exerciſe, thereby, their malice upon Eng-"land, and to make a footſtool thereof to look over "England as they may." From a MS. in the Cottonian Library at the Britiſh Muſeum, dated Auguſt 5, 1559, marked *Caligula*, B. x. fol. 17.

ſent thither by Elizabeth to feed the war, and were entruſted with a diſcretionary power of ſupplying the malecontents, with money, according to the exigencies of their affairs. Cockburn obtained four thouſand crowns, but on his return to his party, was intercepted by Bothwel, who diſperſed his followers, carried off the money, and wounded him in the engagement. This diſappointment rendered the inſurgents deſperate, and hurried them to the aſſault of Leith, where they were beat back by the French, who ſeized their cannon, purſued them to the gates of Edinburgh, and were upon the point of entering with them. A few of the Scottiſh nobles at laſt faced the enemy, and obliged them, after plundering ſome houſes in the ſuburbs, to return with their booty.

A few days after, the French having ſent a detachment to intercept a convoy of proviſions deſigned for Edingburgh, the lords of the congregation ſet upon them, between Reſtalrig and Leith; but, being ſurrounded by a ſecond party of the French, ſent to ſupport the former, they were obliged to make their retreat over a marſhy ground, and ſuffered greatly in their rear. Diſmayed and diſpirited with this ſecond blow, the

the congregation evacuated Edingburgh in great confuſion, and marched with the greateſt precipitation to Stirling, notwithſtanding the prior of St. Andrew's had repreſented their flight as ignominious, and their dread of danger as cowardice. The terror and confuſion with which this party was ſeized at their departure from Edingburgh, augmented ſo much, that, before they reached Stirling, their army dwindled away to a very inconſiderable number.

Knox, amidſt this deſertion, remained intrepid, and, addreſſing his adherents from the pulpit, at once removed their deſpondence, and reanimated their courage. An aſſembly was called to deliberate on meaſures to retrieve their affairs; but as they were convinced that all their reſources were exhauſted, they found it neceſſary once more to have recourſe to England, and reſolved to implore the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth. Maitland was employed in this negociation. This gentleman had been principal ſecretary to the regent, but had deſerted to the congregation a few days before their precipitate retreat.* He was a perſon of admirable

* This character is borrowed from Robertſon's hiſtory of Scotland, vol. I. p. 134.

able parts, improved by a liberal education, and, at a time when others indulge their passions, was admitted into all the secrets of the cabinet. Possessed of an intrepidity which urged him to the pursuit of bold attempts, he was master of all that policy which was requisite to ensure success. But his virtues were carried to excess, and his his great qualities were alloyed with their neighbouring vices. His address would sometimes degenerate into cunning, his sagacity bordered on excess of subtilty; his invention, which was too exuberant, sometimes suggested chimerical schemes of policy; and his enterprizing genius would oftentimes hurry him into projects which were beyond his power to execute. His embassy had its desired effect on Elizabeth, who was prepared, by * Cecil's memorial, to

* Robertson informs us, that, in order to give the queen and her council a full and distinct view of any important matter which might come before them, it seems to have been the practice of Elizabeth's ministers to prepare memorials, in which they clearly stated the point in deliberation, laid down grounds of the conduct which they held to be most reasonable, and proposed a method for carrying their plan into execution. Two papers of this kind, written by Cecil with his own hand, still remain; they are entitled, "A short "Discussion of the weighty matters of Scotland," and do

to enter into his ſchemes without the leaſt reluctance. And one of Maitland's attendants was diſpatched with aſſurances from the queen of her protection. The French army in Scotland had been reinforced with a thouſand men, under the command of Martigues; and a more conſiderable ſupply was expected, under the marquis of Elbeuf.

Elizabeth, who conſidered her own intereſt as intimately connected with that of the congregation, reſolved to exert her utmoſt efforts in order to ſupport their declining affairs. With this view ſhe fitted out a fleet conſiſting of thirteen ſhips of war; and beſtowing the command of it on admiral Winter, ſhe ſent it to the Frith of Forth: ſhe appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties; and ordered an army of eight thouſand men to rendezvous at Berwick, under the conduct of lord Gray, warden of the Eaſt and Middle Marches.

The

do honour to the induſtry and penetration of that great miniſter. *Hiſt. of Scot.* vol. i. p. 186. *Burn.* vol. iii. *Appen.* p. 283. Several pieces of the ſame kind appear in the Cottonian collection of Cecil's papers at the Britiſh Muſeum; but eſpecially a memorial in Cecil's own hand, dated the fifth of Auguſt 1559. Marked Caligula. B. 10. fol. 17.

The court of France, dreading the consequences of Elizabeth's interfering in the affairs of Scotland, endeavoured to divert her from her purpose, by offering to restore Calais and all its dependencies; but she resolutely told them, that she would never put a paltry fishing-town in competition with the safety of her kingdom; and she still continued her preparations.

She engaged in a treaty of mutual defence with the congregation, which was to remain in force during the marriage of the queen of Scots with Francis, and a year after; and she promised to employ her utmost endeavours in order to compel the French to evacuate Scotland. And having thus taken every precaution which could ensure success, and received from the Scots six hostages for the performance of articles, she commanded her fleet and army to begin their operations.

The unexpected arrival of Elizabeth's fleet in the Forth, greatly alarmed the French army, who were at that time wasting the county of Fife: and obliged them to take a compass by Stirling, in order to reach Leith, which they strengthened with some additional fortifications, and resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity.*

The

* A. D. 1560.

The Engliſh army, being joined by five thouſand Scots, immediately undertook the ſiege of that town; and, after two ſkirmiſhes, in the former of which the Engliſh had the advantage, in the latter the French, they began to cannonade the place; and, though repulſed in a raſh and imprudent aſſault, they reduced the garriſon to great difficulties.

Two unforeſeen events contributed ſtill further to augment their diſtreſs: d'Elbeuf's fleet, which was bringing a ſtrong reinforcement, was diſperſed by a ſtorm; and the queen regent died, about this time, in the caſtle of Edingburgh: ſhe was a woman of great abilities, but of too intriguing a ſpirit, and too imperious a deportment, to gain the affections of a people ſo jealous of their liberties, and ſo proud of their independence, as the Scots.

The French, being ſtraitened for want of proviſions, and finding that the Engliſh were daily reinforced by new numbers, were obliged to capitulate. Accordingly the biſhop of Valence, and count Randan, ambaſſadors from France, ſigned a treaty at Edinburgh, with Cecil and doctor Wotton, whom Elizabeth had commiſſioned for that purpoſe. It was there agreed, that the king and queen of France and Scotland, ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the

arms of England; that Elizabeth ſhould be farther ſatisfied for the injury already done her in that particular; and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to ſettle this point, or, if they could not agree, that the matter ſhould be referred to the arbitration of the king of Spain.

Beſides theſe articles, which related to England, ſome ſtipulations were made with the Scots, which the plenipotentiaries, in the name of the king and queen of France and Scotland, engaged in the treaty with Elizabeth to perform: theſe were, that the French troops ſhould, in twenty days, be tranſported to their own country in Engliſh bottoms; that Leith ſhould be evacuated, and its fortifications demoliſhed; that the works raiſed by the French, at Dunbar, ſhould be diſmantled; that the Scots ſhould be indulged with a general pardon for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the queen ſhould chooſe eleven, and the ſtates five, and in the hands of theſe twelve, ſhould the whole management of public affairs be lodged, during the queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war, without the conſent and approbation of the ſtates.

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After the concluſion of the treaty, the French and Engliſh withdrew out of Scotland: the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were demoliſhed; and the amneſty was confirmed by the ſtates, which enacted ſeveral laws in favour of the Reformation.

Though Francis and Mary confirmed theſe laws, they flatly refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, on pretence that Elizabeth had treated with their rebellious ſubjects, as if they had compoſed an independent ſtate; but the real intention of the princes of Lorraine, was to deprive Elizabeth of the Engliſh crown, and place it on the head of their young niece. This was a ſcheme, however, which, happily for England, they were never able to effect; but it afterwards proved the ſource of infinite calamities to that unfortunate princeſs, whoſe intereſts they meant to promote.

Though Elizabeth had formerly declared to her parliament, that ſhe was firmly reſolved to live unmarried, people in general were inclined to believe that ſhe would ſoon alter her ſentiments in that particular; and not only ſovereign princes, but even ſome of her own ſubjects, aſpired to the honour of a matrimonial crown.

The king of Sweden, and the dukes of Savoy and Holſtein had already addreſſed her on that ſubject. Hamilton, earl of Arran, ſon to the duke of Chatelraut, preſumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, hoped that Elizabeth would give him the preference to all her other ſuitors, from a probable proſpect of uniting the two kingdoms.

Fitz allen, earl of Arundel, relying on his noble birth, flattered himſelf with the agreeable hopes of procuring his ſovereign in marriage. Sir George Pickering, having received ſome particular marks of her regard, fondly imagined that he had engaged her affections; but, of all the courtiers, lord Robert Dudley, ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, poſſeſſed the greateſt ſhare of her favour.

She had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than ſhe appointed him maſter of the horſe, and honoured him with the order of the garter. She ſeemed to take a pleaſure in diſtributing her favours through the hands of this nobleman, who was diſtinguiſhed at court by the name of My Lord, as if he alone had merited that title.

He was entruſted with all the ſecrets of the cabinet: the ambaſſadors gave an account of their negociations to him, as to their ſovereign;

vereign; and to him were all petitions and applications addreſſed. In a word, it was but too evident that Elizabeth entertained ſomething more than bare eſteem for Dudley, who was extremely unworthy of her favour and affection. He was infected with all his father's vices, and had nothing but perſonal accompliſhments to recommend him to a lady of Elizabeth's diſcernment.

Nevertheleſs, her behaviour to him was ſo familiar, and even unguarded, that many ſcandalous hints were thrown out to the prejudice of her character; and he is ſaid to have poiſoned his own wife, in order to pave the way for eſpouſing his ſovereign.

Beſides Dudley, ſhe had two other favourites of a different kind, namely, Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal; and William Cecil, her ſecretary, a miniſter of ſolid judgment, extenſive knowledge, unwearied application, impenetrable ſecreſy, and wholly devoted to the intereſt of his ſovereign.

Elizabeth found it the more neceſſary to employ able miniſters at home, as ſhe had ſcarce any foreign ally on whom ſhe could rely. Montague, whom ſhe had ſent as ambaſſador to Philip, was received with great coldneſs and indifference. That

prince lamented the change which had been made in religion within the queen's dominions; returned the order of the garter, which he would no longer wear; and refuſed to renew the ancient alliance with England.

The pope ſent Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of St. Sauveur, with certain inſtructions and a brief to Elizabeth, exhorting her to return within the pale of the Catholic church; and promiſing, that a general council ſhould be aſſembled with all poſſible diſpatch.

The nuncio is ſaid to have promiſed that the pope would annul the ſentence of divorce between Henry the eighth and Anne Boleyn, confirm the Engliſh liturgy, and permit the people to communicate in both kinds at the ſacrament.

But all theſe offers were rejected by Elizabeth, who had no intention to ſubject herſelf and her people to that ſtate of ſlaviſh dependance in which they had formerly been held by the Roman pontiffs. While the Proteſtants in England were bleſſed with a full liberty of conſcience, and the free exerciſe of their religion, the Hugonots in France (ſo the Proteſtants in that kingdom were called) were expoſed to the moſt cruel and barbarous perſecutions, until they engaged in a conſpiracy againſt

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the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, whom they regarded as their moſt inveterate enemies.

The prince of Condé was ſuppoſed to favour them in private; and a gentleman named La Renaudie formed a ſcheme for ſurprizing the duke and the cardinal at Amboiſe, where the court at that time reſided. This deſign, being diſcovered, was conſtrued into a conſpiracy againſt the king, and no leſs than twelve hundred perſons were executed, on account of their having been privy to the plot.

The eſtates of the kingdom being aſſembled at Orleans, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé attended the meeting, though they knew they were ſuſpected and hated by the princes of Lorraine. The firſt was ſo narrowly watched that he could not make his eſcape: the other was committed to priſon, and afterwards condemned to loſe his head by the hands of the common executioner; but the ſudden death of Francis the ſecond ſaved the noble priſoner, and defeated the ſchemes of the duke of Guiſe.*

The queen-mother was appointed regent during the minority of her ſon Charles the ninth, who now ſucceeded his father: the king of Navarre was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom: the ſentence againſt

* January 15, 1561.

againſt Condé was reverſed; the conſtable Montmorency, who had been baniſhed, was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorraine, though they ſtill poſſeſſed the higheſt poſts and offices, now found their authority greatly diminiſhed.

Elizabeth was overjoyed to hear, that her declared enemies had been ſo ſeverely humbled, and ſhe was reſolved to avail herſelf of the preſent conjuncture in order to compel the queen of Scots to renounce her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown. She accordingly ſent orders to her ambaſſador Throgmorton, a very faithful and able miniſter, to renew his application to Mary, and to demand her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

But though that princeſs had deſiſted, after her huſband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, ſhe ſtill declined to oblige Elizabeth in that important article; and being too much influenced by the ambitious ſuggeſtions of her uncles, ſhe flatly refuſed to relinquiſh her claim to the Engliſh throne.

Mean while the queen-mother of France, who aſcribed to her daughter-in-law all the mortifications ſhe had ſuffered during her ſon's life time, took care to repay her in her own coin; and the queen of Scots, unable to brook the indignities to which ſhe

ſhe was now expoſed, began to entertain thoughts of returning to her native country.

Lord James, her natural brother, who had been ſent by the ſtates to invite her over, confirmed her in this reſolution; and ſhe applied to Elizabeth, by d'Oyſel, for liberty to paſs through England. This requeſt, which decency alone required one prince to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected in ſuch a manner, as gave riſe to no ſlight ſuſpicion of a deſign, either to obſtruct the paſſage, or to intercept the perſon of the Scottiſh queen.

Mary was highly incenſed at this ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth, but ſhe did not, on that account, delay her departure from France. She was attended to Calais, the place where ſhe embarked, in a manner befitting her dignity, as the queen of two powerful kingdoms, and the preſumptive heir of a third.

Six princes of Lorraine, her uncles, with many of the moſt eminent among the French nobility, were in her retinue. Catharine, who was ſecretly glad of her departure, graced it with every circumſtance of pomp and magnificence. After bidding adieu to her ſorrowful attendants, with a ſad heart, and cheeks bedewed with tears, Mary left that kingdom, the ſhort, but only ſcene of her

her life, in which she enjoyed any real happiness.

While the French coast remained in view, she kept her eyes invariably fixed upon it, musing, in a thoughtful posture, on that height of fortune from whence she had fallen, and foreboding, perhaps, the calamities and misfortunes which awaited her in her native kingdom, she sighed often, and cried out, "Farewel "France! farewel beloved country, which "I shall never more behold."

Even when the darkness of the night had concealed the land from her sight, she would neither withdraw to the cabin, nor taste food; but ordering a couch to be placed on the deck, she there expected the return of day, with the most eager impatience. Fortune favoured her wishes on this occasion; the galley made little way during the night. In the morning the coast of France was still in view, and she continued to feed her melancholy with the prospect; and as long as her eyes could discern it, to utter the same tender expressions of regret.

At last a brisk gale arose, by the favour of which for several days, and afterwards under cover of a thick fog, Mary escaped the English fleet, which lay in wait to intercept her; and on the nineteenth day of August,

Auguſt, after having been abſent for the ſpace of thirteen years, ſhe arrived ſafely at Leith, in her native kingdom.

She was received by her ſubjects with ſhouts and acclamations of joy, and with every poſſible mark of eſteem and regard. But as her arrival was altogether unexpected, and no ſuitable preparations had been made for the purpoſe, they could not, with all their care, conceal from her the poverty of the country, and were obliged to conduct her to the palace of Holyrood-houſe, with little pomp or ceremony. The queen, who had been always accuſtomed to the utmoſt ſplendour and magnificence, and was extremely fond of parade, as was natural at her age, could not help obſerving the change in her ſituation, which ſeemed to affect her in a ſenſible manner.

Never did prince aſcend a throne at a more delicate and critical conjuncture. The rage of religious controverſy ſtill continued to prevail with its former violence. The Proteſtants were exaſperated by the memory of paſt oppreſſion; the Papiſts were become deſperate from the ſmart of recent injuries; and both of them were equally zealous, fierce, and irreconcilable.

The nobles, during the abſence of their ſovereign, had contracted a habit of licence and independency; and amidſt the tumult

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of the late commotions, they had procured such immense estates, as added greatly to the power of the aristocracy, which was already but too formidable.

The kingdom had been long subject to the government of regents, who were invested with a delegated jurisdiction, accompanied with little authority, and which commanded no respect. For the two last years, in particular, the nation had been thrown into a state of absolute anarchy, without a regent, without a supreme council, without the power, or even the form of a regular government.

A licentious spirit, unacquainted with subordination, and disdaining the restraints of law and justice, had infected all ranks of men. The influence of France, the ancient ally of the kingdom, was either withdrawn or despised. The English, who of enemies were now become confederates, had gained a mighty ascendant in the nation, and directed all its councils and measures.

The friendship of the former was not more advantageous to the Scottish monarchs, than the interposition of the latter was likely to prove detrimental. Every motive, whether of interest or self-preservation, induced Elizabeth to depress the royal authority in Scotland, and to involve the prince in perpetual

perpetual difficulties, by raiſing and encouraging a ſpirit of diſaffection among the people.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, when the government fell into the hands of a young queen, who had not yet attained the nineteenth year of her age, was totally ignorant of the laws and manners of her country, a perfect ſtranger to her ſubjects, without experience, without allies, and almoſt without a friend.

On the other hand, Mary was poſſeſſed of ſeveral advantages, which, though not ſufficient to counterballance theſe inconveniences, might yet have ſerved to render them more tolerable; and, by a ſkilful and prudent management, might have been productive of the happieſt effects. Her ſubjects, who had been ſo long unaccuſtomed to the reſidence of their prince, were not only charmed with the novelty and ſplendour of the royal preſence, but were likewiſe inſpired with love and admiration for her ſacred perſon.

From all quarters of the kingdom the nobles flocked to the metropolis, in order to expreſs their duty and affection to their ſovereign, and endeavoured, by every art, to efface the memory of paſt miſconduct, and to lay in a ſtock of future merit.

The gaiety and amuſements of her court, which was compoſed of the moſt accompliſhed of the French nobility, who had accompanied her to Scotland, began to poliſh and humanize the rude manners of the nation. Mary herſelf was endowed with many of thoſe qualifications, which engage affection, and command eſteem. The beauty and gracefulneſs of her perſon attracted univerſal admiration; the elegance and politeneſs of her manners procured her general reſpect.

To all the charms of her own ſex, ſhe joined many of the accompliſhments of the other. Her knowledge in all the arts and ſciences, which were then deemed neceſſary or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by princes of her age; and all her other endowments were heightened and improved by a courteous affability, which, without diminiſhing the dignity of a prince, inſenſibly gains on the hearts of ſubjects, and attaches them more ſtrongly to their duty and allegiance.

From theſe happy omens, notwithſtanding the unfavourable aſpect of affairs at Mary's return into Scotland, notwithſtanding the clouds which ſeemed to be gathering on every hand, a political obſerver would have foretold a very different iſſue of her reign; and though he might have

expected

expected some sudden gusts of faction and popular discontent, he would never have dreaded the destructive violence of that storm, which soon after burst on the kingdom of Scotland.

While all men were thus endeavouring to testify their duty and affection to the queen, the zealous and impatient spirit of the age broke out in a very remarkable instance. On the Sunday after her arrival, Mary ordered mass to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The first news of this circumstance excited a secret murmuring among the Protestants, who happened to be at court; and this was soon followed by complaints and menaces.

The servants belonging to the chapel were attacked, insulted, and abused; and had not the prior of St. Andrew's interposed his good offices, and restrained the fury of the rioters, they would probably have proceeded to the most violent extremities.

It is absolutely impossible, at this distance of time, and under circumstances so totally dissimilar, to conceive the ardour of that zeal against popery, which then prevailed in the nation. Every instance of condescension to the Catholics was considered as an act of apostacy, and the toleration of a single mass was declared to be more

terrible to the nation than the invaſion of ten thouſand armed men.

Poſſeſſed of theſe opinions, many Proteſtants would have ventured to carry matters to the laſt extremity; and without endeavouring to perſuade their ſovereign by arguments, or reclaim her by indulgence, would have bluntly denied her the liberty of worſhipping God in that manner, in which ſhe had been educated, and which alone ſhe believed to be acceptable to the Deity. But the prior of St. Andrew's and other leaders of the party not only checked this violent ſpirit; but in ſpite of the complaints of the people, and the declamations of the preachers, procured for the queen and her attendants the free exerciſe of the Catholic religion.

Near an hundred years after this period, when the ardour of religious zeal was greatly abated, and when time and the progreſs of learning had removed the prejudices, and extended the views of the human mind, an Engliſh houſe of commons refuſed to indulge the wife of their ſovereign, in the private uſe of the maſs. On this occaſion, the Proteſtant leaders merit the praiſe both of wiſdom and of moderation, for obſerving a conduct ſo very different, and ſo much more generous. But, at the ſame time, whoever conſiders the encroaching and ſanguinary

guinary ſpirit of popery, will be far from condemning the caution and circumſpection of the more zealous reformers, or treating their fears as altogether groundleſs.

The Proteſtants, however, by gratifying the queen in this particular, procured a proclamation extremely favourable to their religion. The reformed doctrine, though embraced and eſtabliſhed all over the kingdom, had never been confirmed by the ſanction of royal authority. On this occaſion the queen declared, that whoever ſhould attempt to alter or ſubvert it, ſhould be puniſhed as a traitor.

Mary, in purſuance of the plan which ſhe had concerted in France, entruſted the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs to Proteſtants. Her council was compoſed of the moſt eminent perſons of that party; not a ſingle Papiſt was admitted into any office of truſt or confidence.

The prior of St. Andrew's, and Maitland of Lethington, ſeemed to poſſeſs the firſt place in the queen's favour, and enjoyed all the credit and reputation of favourite miniſters. She could not poſſibly have fixed her choice upon perſons more acceptable to her people. By their prudent advice, ſhe regulated her conduct, with ſo much moderation and deference to the ſentiments of the nation, that ſhe at laſt gained the affec-

tion of her ſubjects; the ſureſt ſupport of a prince's power, and the only genuine ſource of his happineſs and glory.

Mary having thus, in ſome meaſure, ſecured the internal tranquillity of her kingdom, reſolved to turn her attention to foreign affairs. With this view ſhe diſpatched ſecretary Lethington to London, in order to pay her reſpects to Elizabeth, and ſignify her deſire of cultivating a friendſhip and good correſpondence with that princeſs.

At the ſame time ſhe ordered her ambaſſador to demand, as the means of cementing this friendſhip, that ſhe ſhould, by act of parliament, be declared ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne.

No requeſt could be more unreaſonable, or made at a more improper juncture. The queen anſwered, that Mary had once diſcovered her intention not to wait for the regular courſe of ſucceſſion; but had openly, without ceremony or reſerve, aſſumed the title of queen of England, and pretended a preferable right to her throne and kingdom: that, though her ambaſſadors, and thoſe of her huſband the French king, had ſigned a treaty, in which they relinquiſhed that claim, and promiſed ſatisfaction for ſo great an affront, ſhe was ſo elated with this imaginary right, that ſhe had refuſed to comply

comply with the moſt earneſt entreaties, and even, as ſome were pleaſed to inſinuate, expoſed herſelf to ſome danger in croſſing the ſea, rather than ratify that equitable treaty: that her adherents, every where, had ſtill the aſſurance to aſſert the validity of her title, and had preſumed to repreſent her own birth as ſpurious and illegitimate; that, while affairs were in this ſituation; while a claim thus openly avowed, ſo far from being openly renounced, was only ſuſpended till a more convenient opportunity ſhould offer, it would in her be the moſt egregious folly to ſtrengthen the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the ſucceſſor: that no method could be worſe adapted for cementing a friendſhip, than ſuch a declaration; eſpecially as kings were often found to bear no good-will to their ſucceſſors, even though their own children; much more when the connexion was ſo much leſs intimate, and when ſuch cauſe of jealouſy and offence had already been given, and indeed was ſtill continued, on the part of Mary: that though ſhe was diſpoſed, from the regard which ſhe had for her kinſwoman, to aſcribe her former pretenſions to the pernicious councils of others, by whoſe advice ſhe was then directed; her refuſal to renounce them, could only ariſe from her own prepoſſeſſions, and

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was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her: that it was the nature of all men, to be dissatisfied with the present, to entertain flattering prospects of futurity, to think their services ill requited, and to hope for a better reward under another reign; and she would consider herself as scarce half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her successor, and furnish her rival with such a tempting opportunity of disturbing her repose and tranquillity: that she was well acquainted with the inconstant and capricious nature of the people; she was no stranger to the present divisions in religion; she was abundantly sensible, that the same party, which hoped for the greatest favours during the reign of Mary, did likewise believe that the title of that princess was preferable to her own: that, for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was resolved to live and die queen of England; and after her death, it was the business of others to determine who had the best right, either by the laws of the land or by proximity of blood, to the succession: that she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then appear to be best founded; and, considering the insult which had been offered to herself, it was a sufficient concession if she promised, in the mean time, to take no step

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which might, in the leaſt, prejudice or invalidate that claim: and that Mary, if her title was really ſuperior, a point which, for her own part, ſhe had never examined, enjoyed every advantage above her rivals; who, deſtitute both of preſent power and of all ſupport from friends, would only involve themſelves in inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful pretenſions.

Theſe maxims of the queen were ſo prudent and judicious, that it was not likely ſhe would ever be induced to depart from them: nevertheleſs, that ſhe might put the matter to a fuller proof, ſhe agreed to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, ſo as to remove all ſuſpicion of their excluding Mary's right of ſucceſſion; and, in this form, ſhe again deſired her to ratify that treaty.

Matters were at laſt brought to this iſſue, that Mary accepted the propoſal, and offered to relinquiſh all preſent pretenſions to the crown of England, provided Elizabeth would engage to declare her the ſucceſſor.

But ſuch was the jealous diſpoſition of this latter princeſs, that ſhe would never agree to encreaſe the intereſt and authority of any claimant, by fixing the ſucceſſion; much leſs would ſhe take ſuch a ſtep in behalf

half of a rival queen, who poſſeſſed ſuch plauſible pretenſions for the preſent, and who, though ſhe might verbally renounce them, could eaſily revive her title on the firſt favourable opportunity.

Mary's requeſt, however, appeared ſo juſt and reaſonable, that Elizabeth, concluding the world would be inclined to decide in her favour, made no more mention of the matter; and, though no further conceſſions were made by either princeſs, they ſeemed to forget their former feuds and animoſities, and to aſſume the appearance of the moſt cordial amity and friendſhip.

Elizabeth knew, that, without her interpoſition, the authority of Mary was ſufficiently depreſſed, by the ungovernable ſpirit of her own ſubjects; and, inſtead of endeavouring to diſturb the tranquillity of Scotland, ſhe employed her time much more uſefully and laudably, in ſettling the affairs of her own kingdom, and promoting the happineſs of her people.

She made a conſiderable progreſs in diſcharging thoſe great debts which her predeceſſors had contracted: ſhe regulated the coin, which had been extremely debaſed during ſome of the former reigns: ſhe ſupplied her arſenals with great quantities of arms, from Germany and other places; perſuaded her gentry and nobility to fol-

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low her example in this particular; introduced into the kingdom the art of making gun-powder and braſs cannon; repaired the fortifications of Berwick, and other fortreſſes on the ſide of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by permitting a free exportation of corn; promoted trade and navigation; and ſo much augmented the ſhipping of her kingdom, both by building veſſels of force herſelf, and recommending the like undertakings to the merchants, that ſhe was juſtly ſtiled the reſtorer of naval glory, and the queen of the northern ſeas.

The natural frugality of her temper, ſo far from interrupting the proſecution of theſe great enterprizes, only enabled her to purſue them with the greater vigour and ſucceſs; and all men beheld in her conduct, the happy effects of a ſteady perſeverance, in judicious and well-concerted projects.

Elizabeth was ſo extremely tenacious of her power and authority, that ſhe not only reſolved to lead a ſingle life herſelf, and to decline the appointment of the ſucceſſion to crown; but ſhe even ſeemed determined, that no one, who had any pretenſions to the throne, ſhould ever have any heirs or ſucceſſors.

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The Scottish line having been excluded by the will of Henry the eighth, the right of succession devolved on the house of Suffolk; and the lady Catharine Gray, younger sister to the lady Jane, was now the representative of that family.

This lady had been married to the lord Herbert, son to the earl of Pembroke; but having been divorced from that nobleman, she had concluded a private marriage with the earl of Hertford, son to the protector, who, soon after consummation, took a journey into France.

In a little time, Catharine proved with child; and Elizabeth was so incensed at this circumstance, that she committed her to the Tower, and summoned her husband to return home, in order to answer for his misdemeanour.

He made no difficulty in acknowledging the marriage, which, though contracted without the consent of the queen, could not be considered as prejudicial to her interest; but of this matter Elizabeth pretended to be a more competent judge, and ordered him, for his presumption, to be sent to the Tower.

Not satisfied with this act of severity, she issued a commission for examining the contract; and as Hertford could not, within the

the time limited, prove the nuptials by witneſſes, their commerce was pronounced unlawful, and their poſterity illegitimate. They were ſtill detained in cuſtody; but, by gaining the good-will of their keepers, they found means to have ſome private interviews; and another child was the fruit of their ſtolen amours.

This event inflamed ſtill farther the indignation of Elizabeth; who cauſed a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds to be impoſed upon Hertford by the Star-chamber, and ordered his confinement to be more rigid and ſevere. He remained in this condition for the ſpace of nine years, till, at laſt, his wife dying, the queen was freed from all apprehenſions, and again reſtored him to his liberty.

Elizabeth behaved with more generoſity in an affair of another and more dangerous nature. Arthur Pole and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal, and ſprung from the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the fourth, together with Anthony Forteſcue, who had eſpouſed a ſiſter of theſe gentlemen, and ſome other perſons, had formed a deſign of retiring into France, in order to procure ſuccours from the duke of Guiſe, to return thence into Wales, and proclaim Mary queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence.

For this conſpiracy they were now brought to their trial, and owned the indictment; but declared, at the ſame time, that they never meant to execute theſe projects till the queen's death, which, ſome pretenders to judicial aſtrology had told them, would certainly happen before the end of the year. They were condemned to death by the jury; but the queen was pleaſed to indulge them with a pardon.

England being bleſſed with a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, the queen began to turn her attention towards the affairs of the Continent, particularly thoſe of France, which were now involved in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder.*

The queen regent of France, when ſhe recovered her authority on the death of her ſon Francis, had concerted a plan of adminiſtration more ſubtile than judicious; and, oppoſing the Catholics to the Hugonots, the duke of Guiſe to the prince of Condé, ſhe attempted to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience.

But the equal ballance of power, which, among foreign nations, is the ſource of peace and tranquillity, proves always the occaſion of quarrels between domeſtic factions;

* A. D. 1562.

tions; and if the animosity of the contending parties is still farther inflamed by the zeal of religious controversies, it is absolutely impossible, in such a delicate situation, to preserve a firm concord for any length of time.

The constable, Montmorency, filled with concern for the Catholic faith, espoused the cause of the duke of Guise: the king of Navarre, actuated by his inconstant temper, and by his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, engaged in the same party: and Catharine, finding herself unable to resist this combination, applied to the prince of Condé and the Hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of strengthening themselves, by her countenance and protection.

An edict had been published, indulging the Protestants with a toleration; but the perfidy of the duke of Guise, concealed under the appearance of religious zeal, violated this agreement; and the two parties, after a short and deceitful tranquillity, began to persecute each other with redoubled fury and violence.

Condé, Coligni, Andelot, collected their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency seized the king's person, and compelled the queen-regent to declare in their favour; fourteen armies were raised,

and put in action in different parts of France: every province, every city, and almoſt every family, was filled with inteſtine rage and animoſity. The father was divided againſt the ſon; the brother againſt the brother; and even the women, forgetting the natural humanity and decency of their ſex, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of cruelty and outrage.

Wherever the Hugonots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars plundered, the churches deſtroyed, the monaſteries reduced to aſhes: where the Catholics were ſuperior, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, compelled married perſons to repeat that ceremony: and the triumph of both parties was equally attended with rapine, bloodſhed, and deſolation.

Even the parliament of Paris, the ſeat of law and juſtice, far from endeavouring to allay theſe fatal commotions, iſſued an edict, by which they put the ſword into the hands of the furious multitude, and empowered the Catholics every where to butcher the Hugonots: and it was during this period, when the human mind began to be ſomewhat enlightened, and in this nation ſo celebrated for civility and politeneſs, that the rage of religious zeal, which had long been boiling in the breaſts of the people,

ſeems

ſeems to have arrived to its laſt ſtage of virulence and ferocity.

Philip, who was uneaſy at the progreſs which the Hugonots made in France, and who apprehended that the contagion might ſpread into the Low-Country provinces, had engaged in a ſecret alliance with the duke of Guiſe, and had formed a mutual concert for the defence of the ancient faith, and the extirpation of hereſy.

He now ſent ſix thouſand men, with ſome ſupply of money, to ſtrengthen the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, unable to reſiſt ſuch a powerful confederacy, ſupported by the royal authority, was obliged to diſpatch the Vidame of Chartres to London, in order to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth.

The Hugonots were maſters of the greateſt part of Normandy, and Condé propoſed to put the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace; provided the queen, with three thouſand men for the garriſon of that place, would likewiſe ſend three thouſand more to ſecure Dieppe and Roüen, and ſupply that prince with the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns.

Elizabeth, beſides the general intereſt of aſſiſting the Proteſtants, and defeating the views of her enemy the duke of Guiſe, had other motives which induced her to

this propoſal. When ſhe concluded the treaty of peace at Cateau Cambreſis, ſhe had good reaſon to ſuſpect, that France would never voluntarily perform the article with regard to the reſtitution of Calais; and many ſubſequent incidents had tended to ſtrengthen this ſuſpicion.

Large ſums of money had been expended in repairing the fortifications; long leaſes had been granted of the lands; and many artificers had been encouraged to ſettle in the place, by the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that it would never again be reſtored to the Engliſh.

The queen therefore imagined, that could ſhe obtain poſſeſſion of Hayre, a place ſituated in the mouth of the Seine, and of far greater conſequence than Calais, ſhe would eaſily compel the French to fulfil the treaty, and would have the honour of re-annexing to the crown that ancient poſſeſſion, which was ſo much the favourite of the nation.

She accordingly accepted the offer of Condé, and immediately diſpatched a body of three thouſand men under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, who took poſſeſſion of Havre and Dieppe without oppoſition; but the latter place was ſo poorly fortified, that it was deemed untenable, and was therefore abandoned.

The

The king of Navarre and the conſtable Montmorency had already undertaken the ſiege of Roüen, which they blocked up ſo cloſely, that Poynings found it extremely difficult to throw a ſmall re-inforcement into the place. Though theſe Engliſh troops behaved with great bravery and reſolution, and the king of Navarre was mortally wounded in the courſe of the ſiege; the Catholics ſtill carried on the attack with unremitting vigour, and taking the place by ſtorm, put the whole garriſon to the ſword. Soon after, the earl of Warwick, ſon to the late duke of Northumberland, arriving at Havre, with another body of three thouſand men, aſſumed command of the place.

It was generally ſuppoſed, that the French Catholics, elated with their ſucceſs at Roüen, would immediately have engaged in the ſiege of Havre, which was not yet in a poſture of defence; but the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom ſoon turned their attention to another quarter.

Andelot, aſſiſted by the negociations of Elizabeth, had raiſed a conſiderable body of Proteſtants in Germany; and having proceeded to Orleans, the ſeat of the Hugonots power, he enabled the prince of Condé and the admiral to take the field, and make head againſt their enemies. After menacing

ing Paris with a ſiege, they directed their route towards Normandy, with a view of perſuading the Engliſh to act in conjunction with them, and of ſtrengthening themſelves with the farther aſſiſtance which they hoped to receive from the zeal and vigour of Elizabeth.

The Catholics, led by the conſtable, and under him by the duke of Guiſe, hung on their rear; and, overtaking them at Dreux, conſtrained them to come to an engagement. The battle was fought with ſuch determined obſtinacy on both ſides, that Condé and Guiſe, the commanders of the oppoſite armies, were both of them taken priſoners by their enemies. Guiſe, however, ſeemed to have gained the advantage; but the admiral, whoſe fate it ever was to be defeated, and ſtill to riſe more terrible from his fall, aſſembled the ſcattered remains of his army, and, infuſing his own unconquerable ſpirit into the breaſt of every ſoldier, kept them in a body, and reduced ſome of the moſt conſiderable places in Normandy.

Elizabeth, willing to ſecond the efforts of ſo brave a general, ſent him a freſh ſupply of an hundred thouſand crowns; and promiſed, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her ſecurity for an hundred thouſand more.

This

This queen found, that, notwithſtanding her extreme frugality, the expence of aſſiſting the French Hugonots had greatly exhauſted her exchequer; and, in order to recruit her finances, ſhe was obliged to convoke a parliament.* The commons, who were fully ſatisfied with the rectitude of the public meaſures, readily granted a ſubſidy, with two fifteenths; and the convocation, which met at the ſame time, voted a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, payable in three years.

In this ſeſſion a law was paſſed, entitled, "The aſſurance of the queen's royal power "over all ſtates and ſubjects within her "dominions." By this act, whoever maintained twice in writing, word, or deed, the pope's anthority, was declared guilty of treaſon. All perſons in holy orders, were compelled to take the oath of ſupremacy; as alſo, all who were advanced to any degrees, either in the univerſities, or in the common law; all inſtructors of youth, all officers of the court, all members of parliament; and the penalty of their ſecond refuſal, was death. The firſt offence, in both caſes, ſubjected the delinquent to baniſhment and forfeiture.

This

* A. D. 1563.

This rigorous ſtatute was ſolely confined to people of inferior rank, and did not extend to any of the degree of a baron; becauſe it was not ſuppoſed that the queen could harbour the leaſt ſuſpicion, with regard to the fidelity of perſons poſſeſſed of ſuch high dignity.

There was likewiſe a law enacted againſt fond and fantaſtical prophecies, which were ſaid to ſeduce the people into hereſy and rebellion; and another againſt conjurations, enchantments, and witchcrafts. In theſe two laſt acts, the parliament diſcovered the goodneſs of their intention, rather than the ſoundneſs of their judgment. Hereſy and witchcraft are two crimes which always encreaſe by puniſhment, and are never ſo effectually ſuppreſſed as by being totally neglected.

A little before the meeting of this parliament, the queen had been ſeized with the ſmall-pox; and as her life had, for ſome time, been in great danger, the commons preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, entreating her to fix the ſucceſſion in ſuch a clear and explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities to which the neglect of ſo important a point would certainly expoſe the nation. But Elizabeth found means to elude their application, by alledging the ſame reaſons which ſhe had formerly given

to

to the queen of Scots; and, leſt ſhe ſhould be troubled with any more addreſſes of the ſame nature, ſhe thought proper to finiſh the parliament by a prorogation.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the civil war, which had been kindled in France, continued to rage with unabated fury. The admiral proceeded, with great ſucceſs, in ſubduing the towns of Normandy, which held for the king; but he frequently complained, that the numerous garriſon of Havre gave him no aſſiſtance, and undertook no action of importance againſt the common foe.

The queen, when ſhe took poſſeſſion of that place, had iſſued a manifeſto, importing, that her regard for the intereſts of the French king, had induced her to purſue ſuch a meaſure; and that her ſole deſign, was to defeat the views of his enemies of the houſe of Guiſe, who held their prince in captivity, and employed his power and authority to the deſtruction of his beſt and moſt faithful ſubjects. It was chiefly her deſire, to ſave appearances, added to the great frugality of her temper, which inclined her, at this critical juncture, to keep her ſoldiers in garriſon, and hinder them from annoying the enemy by any farther hoſtilities.

Mean

Mean while, the duke of Guiſe laid ſiege to Orleans, the bulwark of the Proteſtant cauſe; and he had reduced that city to the laſt extremity, when he was aſſaſſinated by the frantic zeal of a young gentleman, named Poltrot. The death of this prince gave a fatal blow to the Catholic party; and though the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, ſtill ſupported the intereſt of the family, their power appeared to be much leſs formidable, both to Elizabeth and the French Proteſtants.

The union, therefore, between theſe allies, which had been firſt produced, and afterwards ſtrengthened by their common fears, began from thenceforth to become leſs intimate; and the leaders of the Hugonots were induced to liſten to terms of accommodation. Condé and Montmorency had ſeveral interviews for ſettling the preliminaries; and, as they were both of them deſirous to recover their liberty, they ſoon agreed on the principal conditions.

The queen-regent, anxious to preſerve her own authority, was glad to accept of any plauſible terms; and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the admiral, who could eaſily diſcover the perfidy of the court, the articles of agreement between the parties were finally adjuſted.

The

The Proteſtants were indulged with a new toleration, under certain reſtrictions; a general act of indemnity was granted; Condé was reſtored to his offices and governments; and the German troops, after receiving the arrears of their pay, were ſent back to their own country.

By the original compact, between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé, it had been agreed, that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; but the leaders of the French Proteſtants were not very ſcrupulous in obſerving this article.

They only included her ſo far in the treaty, as to procure a promiſe that, on her evacuating Havre, ſhe ſhould be reimburſed by the king of France for all the money which ſhe had lent to the Hugonots, or expended in her own preparations; and that, on the expiration of the time prefixed, ſhe ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Calais.

Theſe terms, however, ſhe refuſed to accept; and, thinking the poſſeſſion of Havre a better ſecurity for the attainment of her purpoſe, ſhe ſent orders to the earl of Warwick, to defend the place to the laſt extremity.

Warwick, who commanded a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, beſides ſeven hundred

pioneers, had no ſooner arrived at Havre, than he exerted himſelf with equal diligence and ſucceſs, in repairing the fortifications; and, after having cleared the town of all the French inhabitants, he animated his ſoldiers, by his exhortations and example, to make a moſt bold and deſperate defence.

The ſiege was conducted by the conſtable; the queen-regent herſelf and the king, were preſent in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and lent his aſſiſtance in this enterprize: the admiral and Andelot alone, who ſtill deſired to maintain a good underſtanding with Elizabeth, kept at a diſtance, and wiſely declined to concur with their ancient enemies, in an attack upon their allies.

From the determined reſolution of the Engliſh to hold out the place to the laſt extremity, and from the eagerneſs of the enemy to recover poſſeſſion of ſuch an important fortreſs, it was commonly expected that the ſiege would be protracted to a conſiderable length, and be attended with great difficulty; yet did the French make an eaſier acquiſition of Havre de Grace, than was at firſt imagined.

The plague broke out among the Engliſh ſoldiers; and, being encreaſed by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill

ſupplied

ſupplied with proviſions) it committed ſuch terrible havock, that it ſometimes carried off an hundred men in one day, and, in a ſhort time, there were not above fifteen hundred capable of doing duty.

The French, meeting with ſuch a weak reſiſtance, puſhed their attacks with vigour and ſucceſs; and, having made two large breaches in the walls, they began to prepare for a general aſſault, which muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the whole garriſon.

Warwick, who had frequently apprized the council of the impending danger, and who had earneſtly ſolicited a ſupply of men and proviſions, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender, on condition of being allowed to retire with the honours of war.

The articles were no ſooner ſigned, than lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, arrived in the harbour with a reinforcement of three thouſand men; and had the mortification to ſee the place delivered to the enemy. To add to the misfortune, the infected army carried the plague with them to England, where it deſtroyed great multitudes of people; no leſs than thirty thouſand perſons having died of it in the city of London alone.

Elizabeth, who had been leſs ſucceſsful in this than in any of her other undertakings, was glad to terminate the quarrel by a friendly accommodation; and as the queen-regent was deſirous of executing a ſcheme which ſhe had formed for the extirpation of the Hugonots, ſhe readily liſtened to any reaſonable terms.

A peace was accordingly concluded, on condition that the hoſtages, which the French had delivered for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be reſtored for two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns; and that both parties ſhould retain all their former claims and pretenſions.*

The queens of England and Scotland had hitherto maintained a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence. They profeſſed the moſt ſincere affection for each other; wrote amicable letters almoſt every week; and had adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments, as well as ſtile, of ſiſters.

Elizabeth inflicted a ſevere puniſhment on one Hales, who had compoſed a book againſt Mary's title; and as the lord keeper Bacon was ſuppoſed to have prompted Hales to this undertaking, he incurred her majeſty's diſpleaſure; and it was not without extreme

* A. D. 1564.

extreme difficulty, that he could recover her good opinion.

The two queens had propoſed, in the foregoing ſummer, to have an interview at York; in order to confer about the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to concert the proper means of eſtabliſhing the Engliſh ſucceſſion: but as this was a point which Elizabeth was extremely unwilling to diſcuſs, ſhe made uſe of the French war as a pretext for poſtponing the meeting.

Notwithſtanding the many profeſſions of friendſhip with which theſe two princeſſes flattered each other, it was hardly poſſible that any cordial amity could ſubſiſt between them. Mary's cloſe connection with the houſe of Guiſe, and her blind attachment to her uncles, by whom ſhe was directed in all her meaſures, was the ground of great jealouſy and ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, who conſidered theſe princes as her inveterate enemies, and was ſufficiently apprized of all their dangerous views, and ambitious projects.

They had offered their niece in marriage to Don Carlos, Philip's ſon; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, and the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might eaſily

be absolved: and they were willing to bestow her upon any one, who could strengthen her interest, and assert her pretension to the English crown.

Elizabeth, on her part, was equally careful to prevent the execution of their schemes, and exerted her utmost endeavours to hinder Mary from contracting any foreign alliance, which might tempt her to renew her claim to the throne of England, and to attack the kingdom on that side where it was most open and defenceless.

She always declared to the queen of Scots, that nothing would satisfy her but her marrying some English nobleman, who would remove all cause of jealousy, and confirm the union between the two kingdoms; and she engaged, on this condition, to have her title examined, and to declare her the successor to the crown.

After keeping the matter, in these general terms, for a whole year, she at last hinted that the lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, was the person on whom she could wish that Mary would fix her choice.

The earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, was endowed with all those exterior qualities which are usually found to engage the affec-

The EARL of LEICESTER 1588
Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

affections of the fair. He was poſſeſſed of a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, and a winning behaviour; and, by means of theſe accompliſhments, he had been able to faſcinate the eyes, and blind the judgment, even of Elizabeth; and to hide from her the great blemiſhes, or rather odious vices, with which he was infected. He was proud, arrogant, ſelfiſh, and ambitious; without honour, without generoſity, without humanity: nor did he compenſate for theſe defects by any ſuch abilities, as could entitle him to that truſt and confidence, which ſhe was always pleaſed to repoſe in him.

Her conſtant and devoted attachment to him, had very naturally encouraged him to aſpire to her bed; and, in order to pave the way for theſe nuptials, he was ſtrongly ſuſpected to have poiſoned his wife, the heireſs of one Robeſart. He was, by no means, pleaſed with the propoſal of the Scottiſh match, which he always imputed to the contrivance of his enemy Cecil, who intended, by that artifice, to make him forfeit the friendſhip of Mary, from the temerity of his pretenſions, and that of Elizabeth, from her jealouſy of his love for another woman.

The queen herſelf never meant that the marriage ſhould take effect; but, as ſhe was deſirous that the queen of Scots ſhould

remain

remain ſingle, ſhe named a man, who, ſhe imagined, would probably be rejected; and ſhe hoped, by that means, to gain time, and defeat the project of any other alliance. In this expectation, however, ſhe had well nigh been diſappointed; for Mary, tempted by the proſpect of being declared ſucceſſor to the crown, appeared at laſt to embrace the propoſal; and Elizabeth, finding that her ſcheme had miſcarried, receded from her former promiſes, and withdrew the bait which ſhe had thrown out to her rival.

This diſingenuous conduct, joined to an appearance of ſuperiority diſcovered by Elizabeth, had provoked Mary to write her a ſharp and ſatirical letter; and the friendly correſpondence, which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the two queens, was for ſome time interrupted. In order to repair this breach, the queen of Scots ſent Sir James Melvil as her ambaſſador to London; and that gentleman has given us a very particular and a very entertaining account of this negociation.

Melvil was an accompliſhed courtier, a man of ready wit and polite addreſs; and his miſtreſs deſired him to exert his utmoſt efforts, in order to gain the good graces of Elizabeth, and diſcover, if poſſible, her moſt ſecret ſentiments. This taſk he performed with

with ſo much ability and ſucceſs, that he threw that artful princeſs entirely off her guard, and made her diſcloſe the bottom of her heart, which appeared to be filled with all thoſe levities and follies and ideas of rivalſhip, which diſtinguiſh the youngeſt and moſt childiſh of her ſex.

In talking of his travels, he took care to mention the dreſſes of the ladies in different countries, and the particular advantages of each, in heightening and improving the beauties of the ſhape and complexion. The queen ſaid that ſhe had dreſſes of all countries, and from that time ſhe never failed to meet the ambaſſador every day apparalled in a different habit: ſometimes ſhe appeared in the Engliſh garb, ſometimes in the French, ſometimes in the Italian; and ſhe aſked him which of them became her beſt. He replied, the Italian; an anſwer, with which, he knew, ſhe would be highly ſatisfied, becauſe that faſhion diſcovered to moſt advantage her flowing locks, which, though more red than yellow, ſhe imagined to be the fineſt in the world.

She enquired of him what was conſidered as the beſt colour of hair, and whether his queen's or hers was the beſt: ſhe even took the liberty of demanding which of them he eſteemed the faireſt perſon; a very delicate queſtion, and which he artfully eluded, by ſaying

ſaying that ſhe was the faireſt perſon in England, and his miſtreſs in Scotland. She next aſked him, which of them was talleſt; he anſwered, his queen: then, ſaid Elizabeth, ſhe is too tall: for I myſelf am of a proper ſtature.

Hearing that his miſtreſs ſometimes employed her vacant hours in playing on the harpſichord, an inſtrument which ſhe herſelf could touch with great dexterity, ſhe ſecretly ordered lord Hunſdon to lead him, as it were by chance, into an apartment, where he might hear her performance; and when Melvil, as if tranſported with the harmony, broke into the queen's chamber, ſhe affected the higheſt diſpleaſure at his intruſion; but ſhe took care to aſk him whether he thought Mary or her the beſt performer on that inſtrument.

From the whole of her behaviour, Melvil concluded, that beſides the conſideration of political motives, the ſpirit of rivalſhip alone was ſufficient to keep up a variance between the two queens, and that all the profeſſions of friendſhip, which Elizabeth had made to Mary, were full of falſhood and diſſimulation.

After two years had been conſumed in evaſions and artifices, Mary's ſubjects and counſellors, and probably herſelf, began to imagine

HENRY Lord DARNLEY. Æt. 17

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

imagine that it was now full time that ſome alliance ſhould be contracted; and the lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lennox, was the perſon, who was deemed the moſt proper huſband for the Scottiſh queen.

He was Mary's couſin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry the eighth, and daughter to the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conſtantly lived, ever ſince he had been expelled his native country by the ſuperior influence of the Hamiltons; and as Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and poſſeſſed of every external accompliſhment, it was ſuppoſed that he might eaſily engage the affections of the queen of Scots.

He was likewiſe, by his father, deſcended from the ſame family with herſelf; and would, by marrying her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stewart: he was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who affected to deny her title on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and give it the preference.

It was deemed no inconſiderable advantage, that ſhe could, by eſpouſing him, unite both their titles; and as he was an

Engliſh-

Engliſhman by birth, and could not, by his power of alliances, give any cauſe of ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was preſumed that the propoſal of this marriage would not be diſagreeable to that jealous princeſs.

Elizabeth was fully apprized of theſe intentions of the court of Edinburgh; and was not ſecretly averſe to the projected match between Darnley and the queen of Scots. She would rather have wiſhed that Mary had remained for ever in a ſingle ſtate: but finding that her ſiſter (as ſhe affected to call her) had leſs ambition, or at leaſt, leſs continence than herſelf, ſhe was ſatisfied with a choice, which delivered her at once from the fear of a foreign alliance, and from the neceſſity of yielding up her favourite, Leiceſter.

In order to facilitate the concluſion of Darnley's marriage, ſhe ſecretly deſired Mary to invite Lennox into Scotland, to annul his attainder, and to re-inſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his honours and fortune: and when her requeſt was granted, ſhe took care, in order to ſecure the friendſhip of the Hamiltons, and her other partizans in Scotland, openly to condemn this conduct of Mary.

Underſtanding that the negociation for Darnley's marriage was in great forwardneſs, ſhe allowed that nobleman, on his

first application, to follow his father into Scotland:* but no sooner did she hear, that the queen of Scots was pleased with his figure and person, and that preparations were making for celebrating the nuptials, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent Throgmorton to command Darnley, upon his allegiance, immediately to return into England; committed the countess of Lennox and her second son to the Tower, where they were long confined; confiscated all Lennox's English estate; and, though it was impossible for her to give one single reason for her displeasure, she threatened, protested, and complained, as if she had received the most grievous injury in the world.

The conduct of Elizabeth, though usually judicious, was always full of duplicity and deceit; but never did she behave with greater insincerity than in her transactions with the queen of Scotland. In these she was actuated by so many little passions, and narrow prejudices, that she durst not avow the real motives of her actions to the world, hardly to her ministers, and scarcely even to herself.

But, besides a spirit of rivalship and envy against the marriage of Mary, she

* A. D. 1565.

had ſome reaſons of a political nature for affecting diſpleaſure on the preſent occaſion. It furniſhed her with a plauſible pretext for refuſing to declare that princeſs ſucceſſor to the Engliſh crown; a point to which ſhe was reſolved never to agree. And it likewiſe ſerved her for another purpoſe, ſtill more unjuſt and dangerous, namely, for fomenting a ſpirit of diſcontent and rebellion among the Scottiſh nobility and clergy.

This was a ſcheme, which unhappily for the peace of Scotland, it was but too eaſy to effect. Mary's attachment to the Catholic faith, had, on her very firſt arrival, filled the whole nation with the moſt terrible apprehenſions; and her ſubſequent conduct was but ill calculated to allay theſe fears. She ſtill refuſed to ratify the acts of parliament, which eſtabliſhed the Reformation: ſhe endeavoured to reſtore to the Catholic biſhops ſome part of their civil juriſdiction; and ſhe wrote a letter to the council of Trent, in which, beſides profeſſing her zeal for the Romiſh religion, ſhe took notice of her title to the Engliſh crown, and ſignified her hopes of being, one day, able, to bring back all her dominions into the boſom of the church.

Theſe raſh and dangerous proceedings could not fail to awaken the jealouſy of the

the Reformers; and, though the queen was indulged with the liberty of celebrating maſs in her own chapel, a law was enacted, declaring it treaſon to practice the ſame ſuperſtition in any other part of the kingdom.

The queen's marriage, inſtead of extinguiſhing, ſerved only to increaſe the ſuſpicions of the people; becauſe the family of Lennox was known to adhere to the Catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the title of king Henry, went ſometimes to the eſtabliſhed church, he could not, by this external compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the nation.

On the contrary, the clergy laid hold of this opportunity to acquaint him with their fears and apprehenſions; and even to treat him with ſome marks of diſreſpect and incivility; Knox, in particular, having ventured to tell him from the pulpit, that God was wont to puniſh the wickedneſs and ingratitude of the people, by committing the reins of government to boys and women. The populace of Edinburgh, inſtigated by ſuch doctrine, began to aſſemble and to form aſſociations againſt the government: but Mary's authority was expoſed to greater and more immediate danger from the diſcontents and animoſities

which prevailed among the principal nobility.

The duke of Chatelrault was dissatisfied with the restoration, and still more with the aggrandizement, of the family of Lennox, his old and inveterate enemies; and he was apprehensive lest his eventual succession to the crown of Scotland should be defeated by his rival, who had formerly laid claim to the same dignity.

The prior of St. Andrew's, who had lately been advanced to the earldom of Murray, found his influence greatly diminished by the superior interest of Lennox and his son; and he was afraid lest some considerable grants which he had received from Mary's bounty, might probably be revoked.

The earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn, the lords Boyde and Ochiltry, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Pittarow, were actuated by the same motives; and as these were the persons, who had most zealously encouraged the Reformation, they were displeased to find that the queen's favour was entirely engrossed by a new cabal, the earls of Bothwel, Athole, Sutherland, and Huntley; men who were either indifferent about all matters of a religious nature, or were secretly attached to the Catholic party.

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The ſame feuds and animoſities, which, in other courts, occaſion cabals, faction, and intrigue, uſually produced in Scotland, either ſchemes of aſſaſſination, or projects of rebellion; and beſides ſome plots of the former kind, with which the two parties mutually charged each other, and the truth of which cannot be aſcertained with any degree of accuracy, the diſcontented lords were no ſooner informed of Mary's reſolution to eſpouſe Darnley, than they entered into a confederacy for taking up arms againſt their ſovereign.

They aſſembled at Stirling; affected an extreme concern for the intereſt of religion; engaged in an aſſociation for their mutual defence; and applied to Elizabeth for aid and aſſiſtance. This princeſs, after having publickly declared her diſapprobation of the marriage, had ſecretly ordered her ambaſſadors Randolph and Throgmorton, to encourage the malecontents in her name, with ſome hopes of ſupport, and had even furniſhed them with a ſupply of ten thouſand pounds, to enable them to begin their inſurrection.

No ſooner did Mary hear that the lords had aſſembled at Stirling, and were determined to take up arms, than ſhe ſummoned them to appear at court, in order to anſwer for their conduct; and having raiſed

ſome forces to execute the laws, ſhe compelled the malecontents to abandon the low country, and to fly into Argylſhire. That they might not have time to increaſe their numbers, ſhe advanced with the king to Glaſgow, and drove them from their retreat.

They appeared at Paiſley in the neighbourhood of that city with about a thouſand horſe; and having eluded the attempt of the queen, who endeavoured to intercept them, they continued their march to Hamilton, and then to Edinburgh, which they entered without oppoſition. Here they expected to have been joined by the inhabitants; but the nation was by no means inclined to a rebellion; Mary was eſteemed and beloved by her ſubjects: the people, in general, were not diſpleaſed with her marriage; and the intereſted views of the malecontent lords were ſo well known, that all their pretences of religious zeal, with which they endeavoured to cover their deſigns, had little or no influence on the minds of the populace.

The king and queen proceeded to Edinburgh at the head of eighteen thouſand men: the inſurgents, afraid to hazard an engagement, withdrew into the ſouth; and being hotly purſued by a ſuperior force, they

they were at laſt obliged to quit their country, and to take refuge in England.

Elizabeth, finding that the ſcheme had miſcarried, thought proper to diſclaim all connexion wſth the Scottiſh malecontents, and to declare publickly, that ſhe had never afforded, or promiſed them any aſſiſtance.

She even carried her hypocriſy and diſſimulation to a ſtill higher pitch. Murray having repaired to London with the abbot of Kilwinning, agent for Chatelrault, ſhe perſuaded them, by ſecret aſſurances of protection, to acknowledge, in preſence of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, that ſhe had no ways contributed to their inſurrection.

No ſooner did ſhe obtain this declaration, than ſhe aſtoniſhed them with the following reply: "You have declared the "truth; I am far from ſetting an exam- "ple of rebellion to my own ſubjects, "by encouraging thoſe who rebel againſt "their lawful prince. The treaſon, of "which you have been guilty, is deteſta- "ble; and, as traitors, I baniſh you from "my preſence for ever."

The exiled lords, finding themſelves ſo cruelly treated by Elizabeth, applied to the clemency of their ſovereign; and, after many entreaties and profeſſions of ſincere repentance,

pentance, the duke of Chatelrault was indulged with a pardon, on condition that he ſhould retire into France.

Mary was more implacable againſt the earl of Murray, and the other confederates, whom ſhe conſidered as the original authors of the inſurrection; but as ſhe was continually teazed with applications from their friends, and as ſome of her moſt judicious partizans in England imagined, that nothing would be more conducive to her intereſts in that kingdom, than the gentle treatment of men ſo diſtinguiſhed for their zeal againſt the Catholic religion, ſhe determined to follow the bent of her own temper, which was naturally mild and merciful, and ſhe ſeemed reſolved to re-admit them into her favour.

But from this wiſe aud prudent reſolution ſhe was unhappily diverted by the arrival of Rambouillet, the French ambaſſador, who brought her advice from her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, by whom ſhe was entirely directed, not to pardon theſe Proteſtant leaders, who had preſumed to take arms againſt her.

The many acts of cruelty and barbarity which the Proteſtants and Catholics, in France, as well as in other parts of Europe, had exerciſed againſt each other, ſerved rather to inflame their reſentment, than

than to ſatiate their revenge; and the peace granted to the Hugonots, was only intended to throw them off their guard, and prepare the way for their final and abſolute deſtruction.

The queen-regent, under pretence of making a progreſs through the kingdom, repaired to Bayonne, where ſhe had an interview with her daughter, the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alva. Nothing appeared in the meeting of theſe two ſplendid courts but mirth, joy, gaiety and pleaſure; but, amidſt theſe falſe and deceitful appearances, were ſecretly formed the moſt bloody, barbarous, and inhuman ſchemes, that had ever been contrived in any age or nation.

No leſs than a total and univerſal extirpation of the Proteſtants by fire and ſword, was projected by Philip and Catharine of Medicis; and Alva, agreeable to his fierce and brutal diſpoſition, adviſed the queen-regent to begin the execution of this ſcheme, by the immediate maſſacre of all the Proteſtant leaders who were then at court.

But that princeſs, though equally deſtitute of every humane and tender feeling, would not loſe ſuch a favourable opportunity of diſplaying her wit and refined policy; and ſhe propoſed, by treachery and diſſimu-

diſſimulation, which ſhe called addreſs, to decoy the Proteſtants into the ſnare, and never to unſheath the ſword, till ſhe had rendered them totally incapable of reſiſtance.

The cardinal of Lorraine, whoſe character bore a ſtronger reſemblance to that of Alva, had a principal ſhare in forming this barbarous conſpiracy againſt the reformers; and conſidering its ſucceſs as the moſt likely means of promoting the intereſt of his neice the queen of Scots, he took care, that her meaſures ſhould correſpond exactly with thoſe violent councils, which were adopted by the other Catholic princes.

It is not likely, that he diſcloſed the depth of this infernal plot to that young princeſs; but he had gained ſuch a powerful aſcendency over her mind, that he diverted her from the mild and moderate courſe which ſhe intended to have purſued, and made her reſolve on the total ruin of the baniſhed lords.

A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh for their trial; and as the crime of which they had been guilty, was notorious to all the world, it was generally believed that ſentence would be given againſt them.* From this fate, however, they

* A. D. 1566.

they were preſerved by a ſudden and unforeſeen accident, which at laſt involved Mary in utter and irretrievable ruin.

The queen of Scots had been ſo captivated with the youth, beauty, and exterior accompliſhments of lord Darnley, that ſhe had entirely overlooked the qualities of his mind, which little correſponded with the excellencies of his outward figure. Of a weak underſtanding, and impetuous paſſion; of intolerable pride, and unbounded ambition; he was devoid of all gratitude becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, he was wholly unſuſceptible of all ſentiments of love and tenderneſs.

The queen of Scots, in the firſt tranſports of her paſſion, had taken a pleaſure in raiſing him to a dangerous height of power: ſhe had inveſted him with the title of king: ſhe had joined his name with her own in all public acts; ſhe intended to have applied to the ſtates in order to procure her a matrimonial crown: but having afterwards leiſure to obſerve his weakneſs and his vices, ſhe began to perceive the folly of her former liberality; and was therefore determined to be more cautious and reſerved in the truſt which ſhe repoſed in him.

His

His resentment against this prudent conduct contributed farther to inflame her disgust; and the young prince, incensed at her supposed neglects, directed his vengeance against all those whom he considered as the authors of this change in her measures and behaviour.

There was one David Rizzio in the court, who had lately found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of Mary. He was a native of Turin, of mean parentage, son to a teacher of music, himself a musician; and being unable to obtain a livelihood in his own country, he had followed the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland. He possessed a good ear and a tolerable voice; and as Mary found him useful to compleat her band of music, she retained him in her service after the departure of his master.

Her secretary for French dispatches happening, soon after, to be dismissed, she advanced Rizzio to that office, which furnished him with frequent opportunities of approaching her person, and of recommending himself to her favour and confidence. Nor did he fail to improve the advantage which fortune had thrown in his way; he took care to make so good use of his access to the queen, that he soon began to be

be conſidered as her chief favourite and counſellor.

He was conſulted on all occaſions; no favours could be procured but through his mediation; all ſuitors were obliged to ſecure his intereſt by preſents or flattery; and the man, inſolent from his ſudden elevation, as well as rapacious in his acquiſitions, ſoon expoſed himſelf to the hatred of the nobility, and of the whole kingdom.

He had at firſt exerted his utmoſt endeavours in order to forward the marriage of Darnley; and a firm friendſhip ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between them: but on the following change of the queen's ſentiments, it was eaſy for Henry's friends to make him believe, that Rizzio was the real author of this alteration, and even to infuſe into his mind jealouſies of a more dangerous nature.

The favourite was of a diſagreeable, and even of an ugly figure, but was not paſt the vigour of youth; and though the opinion of his criminal commerce with Mary appears to have been entirely groundleſs, a ſuſpicious huſband could find no other means of accounting for that unlimited confidence which ſhe was pleaſed to repoſe in him.

But the jealousy of Henry was not the only circumstance that threatened the destruction of Rizzio. As this foreigner was a pensionary of the pope, and blindly attached to the Catholic superstition, he was of course the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by encouraging the rigorous prosecutions against them, he had incurred the hatred of their numerous friends and retainers. It was also supposed that the queen intended to revoke some exorbitant grants which had been made during her minority; and the nobility, who had appropriated to themselves the ecclesiastical revenues, began to tremble for the security of their possessions.

The earl of Morton, chancellor, was alarmed by these considerations, and still more by a rumour which was industriously circulated, that Mary designed to appoint Rizzio chancellor in his place, and to confer that high dignity on a mean and mercenary stranger, who was equally ignorant of the laws and language of the country. So imprudent had this princess been in her expressions of kindness to Rizzio, that even that ridiculous report was generally believed, and proved the occasion of precipitating the ruin of the favourite.

Morton, having found means to gain the confidence of Henry, exerted all his eloquence

quence and addreſs in inflaming the jealouſy and diſcontent of that prince; and he aſſured him, that the only way to deliver himſelf from the indignities which he daily ſuffered, was to bring the inſolent upſtart to that fate which he ſo well deſerved, and which was ſo ardently deſired by the whole nation.

This advice was ſtrongly ſeconded by George Douglas, natural brother to the counteſs of Lennox: the lords Ruthven and Lindeſey, being conſulted, readily offered their aſſiſtance; nor was even the earl of Lennox, the king's father, averſe to the deſign.

But as theſe conſpirators knew that Henry was no leſs fickle than raſh, they perſuaded him to ſign a paper, in which he avowed the undertaking, and engaged to ſcreen them from any danger to which the aſſaſſination of Rizzio might poſſibly expoſe them. Theſe neceſſary precautions being taken, a meſſenger was diſpatched to the baniſhed lords, who were lurking about the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their own country.

This deſign, ſo deteſtable in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more odious by the circumſtances which attended its execution. While the queen, who was now

in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in her bed-chamber with the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few domestics, the king suddenly entered the apartment by a private passage. At his back was lord Ruthven clad in complete armour, and followed by three or four of his most trusty accomplices. Such an unusual appearance alarmed the whole company.

Rizzio instantly apprehended that he was the victim at whom the blow was aimed; and in the utmost trepidation, retired behind the queen, of whom he laid hold, hoping that the reverence due to her person might save him from immediate death. The conspirators had proceeded too far to be restrained by any considerations of that kind. Numbers of armed men rushed into the chamber.

Ruthven drew his dagger, and with a furious aspect and thundering tone, commanded Rizzio to leave a place of which he was unworthy, and which he had possessed too long. Mary employed tears, and menaces, and entreaties, to save her favourite. But notwithstanding all her endeavours, he was torn from her by force, and before he could be dragged through the next apartment, his enemies put an end

to

to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.

The unhappy princeſs, hearing of his fate, immediately dried up her tears, and ſaid ſhe would weep no more; ſhe would now think of revenge. The affront indeed offered to her perſon; the blemiſh attempted to be thrown on her character; the danger to which her life was expoſed on account of her pregnancy; were injuries ſo great and intolerable, that they ſeemed entirely to preclude the authors from all hopes of a pardon.

The aſſaſſins, conſcious of their own guilt, and dreading the reſentment of their ſovereign, detained her a priſoner in the palace; and the king diſmiſſed all thoſe who might have attempted her delivery, by telling them, that nothing was done without his orders, and that he would take care of the queen's ſafety.

Murray, and the other baniſhed lords, arrived at Edinburgh in two days; and Mary, whoſe reſentment was now engroſſed by injuries of a more atrocious nature, was willingly reconciled to them: ſhe even received her brother with all the marks of tenderneſs and affection. They were indulged with a free pardon, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their honours and eſtates.

The perpetrators too of Rizzio's murder applied to her for the ſame favour; but ſhe artfully eluded their application by telling them, that while ſhe was confined in cuſtody and ſurrounded by guards, any deed which ſhe ſhould ſign, would be conſidered as null and void.

In the mean time, ſhe had the addreſs to gain the confidence of her huſband by her perſuaſion and endearments; and no ſooner were the guards diſmiſſed than ſhe perſuaded him to eſcape with her in the night, and take refuge in Dunbar.

Here ſhe was joined by ſo many of her ſubjects, that ſhe ſoon aſſembled an army which the conſpirators were unable to reſiſt; and advancing to Edinburgh, ſhe compelled them to fly into England, where they lived for ſome time in great poverty and diſtreſs.

They ſolicited, however, the good offices of the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's; and that nobleman, willing to ſtrengthen his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, was able to appeaſe the indignation of his miſtreſs, and he ſoon after procured them a permiſſion to return to their native country.

The queen of Scots was inexorable againſt her huſband alone, whoſe perſon ſhe already hated, and who, by his violation

of

of every tie of gratitude and duty, had juſtly incurred her higheſt diſpleaſure.

She perſuaded him to diſclaim all connexion with the aſſaſſins, to diſavow any concurrence in their crime, and even to publiſh a proclamation containing a falſhood ſo notorious to the whole world; and having thus rendered him the object of univerſal contempt, and deprived him of the power of ever regaining the confidence of any party, ſhe threw him off with diſdain and indignation.

As if ſhe had been flying from him, ſhe ſuddenly retired to Alloa, a ſeat of the earl of Mar; and when Henry followed her thither, ſhe inſtantly returned to Edinburgh; and treated him every where with the ſtrongeſt marks of hatred and averſion. She encouraged her courtiers to neglect and deſpiſe him; and ſhe was pleaſed that his mean equipage, and ſmall train of attendants, ſhould expoſe him to the contempt of the very populace.

He was ſuffered, however, to have lodgings in the caſtle of Edinburgh, which Mary had choſen for the place of her delivery; and where, on the nineteenth day of June, ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon, who was chriſtened James, and who afterwards aſcended the throne of England. As this was very important news to both parts of the iſland,

iſland, ſhe immediately diſpatched Sir James Melvil to inform Elizabeth of the happy event.

Melvil acquaints us that that princeſs, the evening of his arrival in London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, where ſhe was diſplaying all that ſpirit and vivacity for which ſhe was remarkable on public occaſions: but that when the prince of Scotland's birth was communicated to her, all her joy was ſuddenly damped: ſhe was ſeized with a deep melancholy: ſhe reclined her head upon her arm; and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe was no better than a barren ſtock.

Next day, however, on the reception of the Scotch ambaſſador, ſhe re-aſſumed her former diſſimulation, put on a chearful countenance, thanked Melvil for the diſpatch he had made in bringing her the agreeable news, and expreſſed the moſt ſincere friendſhip for her ſiſter of Scotland. Soon after, ſhe ſent the earl of Bedford, with his relation George Cary, ſon to the lord Hunſdon, in order to aſſiſt at the baptiſm of the young prince, and ſhe gave them ſome magnificent preſents for the queen of Scots.

The birth of a ſon contributed greatly to encreaſe the zeal of Mary's partizans in England;

CECIL Earl of *SALISBURY.*

Engravid for Rider's History of England

England; and even men of all parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. This ſpirit appeared remarkably in a new ſeſſion of parliament, which met on the thirtieth day of September. The houſe of peers, which had hitherto declined touching on the delicate point of the ſucceſſion, now lead the way; and the commons ſoon followed the example of the lords.

Molineux opened the matter in the lower houſe; and moved, that the queſtion of the ſucceſſion, and that of ſupply, ſhould be joined together; as if they meant to compel the queen to comply with the requeſt of the parliament. The miniſters endeavoured to quaſh the motion: Sir Ralph Sadler declared, that he had heard the queen poſitively affirm, that, for the good of her people, ſhe was reſolved to marry: ſecretary Cecil, and Sir Francis Knollys, gave their teſtimony to the ſame effect; as did likewiſe Sir Ambroſe Cave, chancellor of the dutchy, and Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of the houſhold.

But, notwithſtanding theſe allegations, the members were proceeding with great earneſtneſs in the diſcuſſion of this queſtion, and had even named a committee to confer with the lords, when Elizabeth ſent them an expreſs order to deſiſt from the conſideration

ation of that affair. Cecil told them, that she pledged to the house the word of a queen, for her sincerity in her intentions to marry; that she could not appoint a successor, without endangering her own safety; that she herself had found, during the reign of her sister, how much men were inclined to pay their court to the next heir, and to sacrifice their present duty to their future prospects; and that she was therefore resolved to defer, till a more seasonable juncture, the determination of that important point.

The commons were, by no means, satisfied with these reasons, and still less with the command prohibiting them to canvass that subject. Paul Wentworth, a bold and eloquent member, went so far as to question whether such a prohibition was not an encroachment on the liberties and privileges of the house. The queen, informed of these murmurs, sent for the speaker, and, after renewing her former prohibition, she desired him to acquaint the house, that if any member was still unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy-council, and there explain his reasons.

As the commons discovered an inclination, notwithstanding these peremptory orders, still to examine the question, the queen thought proper, by a message, to revoke

voke them, and to indulge the houſe with a full liberty of debate.

They were ſo pleaſed with this inſtance of condeſcenſion, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more temper and moderation; and they even granted her a ſubſidy, to be levied at three different terms, together with a fifteenth, without reſtricting her to any condition.

The queen diſſolved the parliament on the ſecond day of January,* when ſhe told the members, with ſome ſharpneſs, that their proceedings had been full of diſſimulation and artifice; that, under the ſpecious pretences of marriage and ſucceſſion, many of them concealed deſigns prejudicial to her majeſty; but that, however, ſhe derived this advantage from their attempts, that ſhe could now diſtinguiſh her friends from her enemies.

"But do you imagine," added ſhe, "that "I am regardleſs of your future ſafety, or "will be negligent in fixing the ſucceſſion? "That is the end of all my endeavours, as "I know myſelf to be ſubject to mortality. "Or do you think that I intended to vio- "late your liberties? No; It was never "my intention: I only meant to ſtop your "career, before you approached the preci- "pice.

* A. D. 1567.

" pice. Every thing has its proper ſeaſon; " and though you may be bleſſed with a " ſovereign poſſeſſed of more wiſdom and " learning than fall to my ſhare, yet I aſ- " ſure you, that no one will ever reign " over you, who ſhall be more anxious to " promote your happineſs. And therefore, " for the future, whether or not I ſhall live " to ſee the like aſſembly again, or who- " ever ſhall hold the reins of government, " let me adviſe you not to provoke your " ſovereign's patience, ſo far as you have " done mine. But I ſhall now conclude, " by aſſuring you, notwithſtanding the " treatment I have received (for I mean " not to part with you in anger) that " the greateſt part of you may be ſatisfi- " ed that they go home in their prince's " favour."

Elizabeth gave a ſtill more ſtriking proof of her magnanimity on this occaſion. The commons had granted her the ſubſidy without any condition; but as it was generally ſuppoſed, that they had paid her that compliment in order to induce her to comply with their requeſt, ſhe thought proper, on her refuſal, to remit voluntarily the third payment; and ſhe ſaid that money in the purſes of her ſubjects was as good as in her own exchequer.

But

HOWARD Duke of *NORFOLK*

Engravid for Rider's History of England

But though Elizabeth had ſo ſucceſsfully defeated theſe attempts of the parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots encreaſed in England every day; and beſides the Catholics, many of whom maintained a treaſonable correſpondence with her, and were ready to take arms at her command, the court itſelf of Elizabeth was filled with her declared adherents.

The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leiceſter, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and moſt of the conſiderable men in England, except Cecil, eſpouſed her cauſe, and repreſented the neceſſity of appointing her the ſucceſſor.

None but the more zealous Proteſtants adhered either to the counteſs of Hertford, or to her younger ſiſter Eleanor, who had married the earl of Cumberland; and as the marriage of the former had been attended with ſome informalities, and even pronounced invalid, men were alarmed with the moſt terrible apprehenſions of new diſputes and controverſies, concerning the ſucceſſion.

Beſides, Mary, by her mild and gentle behaviour, had engaged the affections of the people in general; and the public was willing to impute any imprudences, of which ſhe had been guilty, to her youth

and inexperience. But all her flattering hopes, all her tempting prospects, were soon blasted and destroyed by the subsequent incidents of her life, in which her egregious folly, or rather atrocious wickedness, threw her from the height of prosperity, and involved her in utter infamy and ruin.

The earl of Bothwell was of a considerable family and interest in Scotland; and, though not remarkable for any talents either of a civil or military nature, he had distinguished himself in that party which opposed the power of the earl of Murray, and the more zealous reformers. He was a man of the most abandoned morals; had entirely ruined his opulent fortune, and even reduced himself to poverty by his profusion; and seemed to have no resource but in desperate councils and enterprizes.

Notwithstanding the profligacy of his character, he had lately gained an entire ascendant over the mind of Mary; and she was guided, in all her measures, by his advice and direction. Suspicions were even entertained of more particular intimacies between them; and these suspicions were farther confirmed by the continuance, or rather encrease, of her hatred towards her husband.

That

That young prince was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſpair, by the indignities which he ſuffered from the queen and the courtiers, that he had once determined to fly ſecretly into France or Spain, and had even got ready a veſſel for the purpoſe.

On the other hand, ſome of the moſt conſiderable nobility, perceiving her incurable averſion to him, adviſed her to apply to Rome for a divorce; and though Mary is ſaid to have ſpoke honourably on that occaſion, and to have approved the propoſal no farther than it ſhould be found conſiſtent with her own honour, and her ſon's legitimacy; people were inclined to ſuſpect, that the difficulty of finding proper means for accompliſhing the purpoſe, was the real cauſe of droping the farther proſecution of the project.

So far were the ſuſpicions againſt her carried, that when Henry, mortified by the continual inſtances of her hatred, left the court and withdrew to Glaſgow, a diſeaſe of an extraordinary nature, with which he was ſeized on his arrival in that place, was univerſally aſcribed, by her enemies, to a doſe of poiſon, which, it was alledged, ſhe had given him.

While affairs were in this ſituation, all thoſe who wiſhed well to the queen's character, or the tranquillity of their country,

were extremely pleaſed, and ſomewhat ſurprized, to hear that a good underſtanding was happily re-eſtabliſhed between them; that ſhe had gone to Glaſgow, on purpoſe to viſit him during his illneſs; that ſhe treated him with the utmoſt tenderneſs and affection; that ſhe had brought him along with her to Edinburgh; and that ſhe ſeemed, thenceforth, reſolved to live with him in a manner more ſuitable to the relation ſubſiſting between them.

Henry, naturally uxorious, and not of a ſuſpicious temper, was but too apt to believe theſe external ſigns of the queen's returning affection: he accordingly put himſelf into her hands, and accompanied her to the capital. She lived in the palace of Holy-rood-houſe; but as that place was ſituated in a low and ſwampy ground, and the concourſe of perſons about the court neceſſarily occaſioned noiſe, which might diſturb him in his preſent infirm ſtate of health, an apartment was fitted up for him in a ſolitary houſe, at ſome diſtance, called the Kirk of Field.

Mary continued to attend her huſband with the utmoſt aſſiduity. She was ſeldom abſent from him through the day: ſhe ſlept ſeveral nights in the room under his chamber: ſhe loaded him with ſo many marks of tenderneſs and confidence, as, in a great

a great meaſure, removed thoſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions with which he had formerly been diſturbed.

But, while he was ſoothing his fancy with dreams of the return of his former happineſs, he ſtood on the very brink of deſtruction. On Sunday, the ninth of February, about eleven at night, the queen left the Kirk of Field, in order to be preſent at the wedding of one of her maids in the palace. At two next morning the houſe, in which the king lay, was blown up with gun-powder.

The ſhock and noiſe, occaſioned by this ſudden exploſion, alarmed the whole city. The inhabitants ran to the place from whence it proceeded. The dead body of the king, with that of a ſervant who ſlept in the ſame room, were found lying in a neighbouring garden, without the city wall, untouched by fire, and without the leaſt mark of violence or contuſion.

Every one's imagination was at work to gueſs who had contrived and perpetrated this execrable deed. The ſuſpicion fell, with an univerſal conſent, upon Bothwell; but as that nobleman was poſſeſſed of great power in the country, and an almoſt unlimited influence at court, no perſon would run the riſk of declaring his ſentiments, and

all men remained in profound ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment.

Voices, however, were heard in the ſtreets, during the dead of night, accuſing Bothwell, and even Mary herſelf, of the king's murder; placards were ſecretly affixed to the ſame purpoſe; and offers were made, that, upon giving proper ſecurity, his guilt ſhould be clearly proved: but, after one proclamation from the court, offering a reward and indemnity to any one who would point out the author of that accuſation, greater diligence was uſed in finding out the ſpreaders of the libels and reports againſt Bothwell and the queen, than in inveſtigating the cauſes of the king's death, or diſcovering the regicides.

The earl of Lennox, who lived in the country, was no ſooner informed of his ſon's murder, than he wrote to the queen, entreating her to execute immediate juſtice upon the aſſaſſins; among whom he mentioned the earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour and Gilbert Balfour his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of the queen's houſhold; all of them perſons who had been named in the placards affixed on the walls at Edinburgh.

Mary took his demand of immediate juſtice, in a very ſtrict and literal ſenſe; and allowing only fifteen days for the examination

tion of this important affair, ſhe ſent a ſummons to Lennox, commanding him to appear in court, and make good his charge againſt Bothwell.

This nobleman, in the mean time, and all the perſons accuſed by Lennox, were ſuffered to enjoy their full liberty: Bothwell himſelf was continually attended by a band of armed men; ſat in council as uſual; lived for ſome time in the ſame houſe with Mary; and ſeemed to retain all his former influence and authority with his ſovereign. Even the caſtle of Edinburgh, a place of great importance in this critical juncture, was committed to the care of his dependant Sir James Balfour, who had himſelf been publickly charged as acceſſary to the king's murder.

Lennox, who had come as far as Stirling in his way to the court, was timeouſly apprized of all theſe particulars; and reflecting on the ſmall train with which he was attended, and conſidering the great power and abandoned character of his antagoniſt, he thought it imprudent to expoſe his perſon, by proceeding any farther for the preſent.

He therefore wrote to the queen, entreating her to delay the trial; and beſought her, by the regard which ſhe had for her own honour, to employ more leiſure and delibe-

deliberation in deciding a queſtion of ſuch a momentous nature.

His remonſtrances produced no effect: the jury, of which the earl of Caithneſs was chancellor, was preſently incloſed; and though Lennox, apprehenſive of the conſequences, had ordered Cunningham, one of his retinue, to appear in court, and proteſt, in his name, againſt the determination of the cauſe, the jury proceeded to paſs ſentence.

The ſentence was ſuch as they were obliged to give, where neither accuſer nor witneſs appeared; and Bothwell was acquitted of the king's murder. The jury, however, ſenſible that their verdict would give great offence to the nation, and perhaps expoſe them afterwards to ſome danger, entered a proteſt, in which they repreſented the neceſſity of their proceedings.

It is obſervable, that the indictment was laid againſt Bothwell for perpetrating the crime on the ninth of February, not the tenth, the real day on which Henry was murdered. As this error was too groſs to have been owing to miſtake, it was generally ſuppoſed to have been an artifice of the ſecret council, which, being entirely under the influence of Mary, and determined at all events to abſolve Bothwell, had pro-

provided themſelves with this plauſible pretext for attaining that purpoſe.

Two days after this extraordinary tranſaction, a parliament was convoked; and, notwithſtanding the general odium under which Bothwell lay, and the ſtrong ſuſpicion which was ſtill entertained of his guilt, he was the perſon appointed to carry the royal ſceptre on the firſt meeting of that national aſſembly.

In this parliament, a ſevere law was enacted againſt the authors of libels and paſquinades; but no mention was made of the king's murder. All men were overawed by that favour and influence which Bothwell poſſeſſed with his ſovereign; and the effects of this terror, were more viſible in another tranſaction which took place immediately upon the diſſolution of the parliament.

A bond or aſſociation was formed; in which the ſubſcribers, after mentioning the acquital of Bothwell by a legal trial, and a farther offer, which he had made, to maintain his innocence by ſingle combat, bind themſelves, in caſe any perſon ſhould afterwards accuſe him of the king's murder, to aſſiſt him with their whole power againſt ſuch calumniators.

After this promiſe, which diſcovered no great aſſurance in Bothwell of his own innocence,

nocence, the ſubſcribers repreſented the neceſſity of the queen's marriage, in order to ſupport the dignity of the government; and they recommended Bothwell to her as a huſband. This paper was ſubſcribed by all the principal nobility who were then preſent.

In a country diſtracted by violent factions, ſuch a concurrence, in favour of one nobleman remarkable for nothing but his abandoned conduct, could never have been procured, had not every one been fully convinced, that Mary was previouſly reſolved on this meaſure.

Nor would ſuch a motive have been able to influence men, in other reſpects ſo ſtubborn and untractable, had they not been taken by ſurprize, been entirely ignorant of each other's ſentiments, and intimidated by the preſent power of the court, and the fear of farther violence from perſons ſo little guided by the principles of honour or the dictates of humanity. Even, with all theſe alleviating circumſtances, the ſubſcription to this paper has fixed an indelible mark of infamy on the character of the nation.

The ſubſequent meaſures of Bothwell, were equally raſh and preſumptuous. Mary having gone to Stirling, in order to viſit her ſon, he aſſembled his followers, under pre-

pretence of an expedition againſt the free-booters on the borders; and, marching out of Edinburgh with a thouſand horſe, he turned ſuddenly towards Linlithgow, met the queen on her return near that place, diſperſed her ſlender train without reſiſtance, ſeized on her perſon, and carried her, with a few of her attendants, as a priſoner to his caſtle of Dunbar.

She expreſſed neither ſurprize, nor terror, nor indignation, at ſuch an outrage committed on her perſon, and ſuch an inſult offered to her authority; but ſeemed to yield without ſtruggle or reluctance. Sir James Melvil was, at that time, one of her her retinue; and the officer by whom he was ſeized, acquainted him that nothing was done without the conſent of her majeſty.

Some of the nobility, however, in order to put the matter beyond all doubt, ſent her a private meſſage, importing, that if, in reality, ſhe lay under reſtraint, they would exert their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore her to her liberty. She replied, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by force; but, ſince her arrival, had been treated with ſo much reſpect, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwell. From that time, no one gave themſelves any concern to deliver her from a captivity which they believed

believed to have been entirely owing to her own approbation and connivance.

This extraordinary ſtep was at firſt aſcribed to Mary's ſenſe of the infamy attending her projected marriage, and her deſire of finding ſome pretence to excuſe the irregularity of her conduct; but a pardon granted to Bothwell a few days afterwards, made the public form conjectures more injurious to her character.

In this deed Bothwell received a remiſſion for the outrage offered to the queen's perſon; and for "all other crimes:" a clauſe, by which the king's murder was indirectly pardoned. It was then concluded that the rape was only a contrivance of theſe politicians, in order to furniſh a pretext for tacitly pardoning a crime, of which they were afraid to make open mention.

Though the queen and Bothwell had proceeded thus far in their ſhameful career, there ſtill remained one obſtacle to the accompliſhments of their wiſhes, which it was not eaſy to foreſee how they could poſſibly overcome.

The man, who had obtained the ſubſcription of the nobility, recommending him as a huſband to the queen, and who had committed this ſeeming violence on her perſon, in order to extort her conſent,

ſent, had been married about ſix months before to another woman; a woman of merit and beauty, of a very noble family, and ſiſter to the earl of Huntley.

But perſons inſtigated by the violence of paſſion, and by a conſciouſneſs of guilt, ſoon lay aſide all regard to decency and decorum. A ſuit was commenced for procuring a divorce between Bothwell and his wife; and this was proſecuted, at the ſame time, in two different, or rather oppoſite courts; in the court of the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, which was popiſh, and regulated by the canon law; and in the new conſiſtorial or commiſſariot court, which was proteſtant, and was guided by the principles of the reformed teachers.

The plea advanced in each court, was of ſuch a nature as to ſuit the principles which there prevailed: in the archbiſhop's court, the pretence of conſanguinity was alledged, becauſe Bothwell was related to his wife in the fourth degree; in the commiſſariot court, the charge of adultery was pleaded againſt him. The parties, likewiſe, who ſued for the divorce, were different in the different courts: Bothwell was the perſon who appeared in the former; his wife in the latter. And the cauſe in both courts was opened, tried, diſcuſſed, and determined with the utmoſt

precipitation; and a ſentence of divorce was given in four days.

The divorce being thus procured, it was judged neceſſary, that Mary ſhould repair to Edinburgh, and ſhould there appear before the courts of judicature, and own herſelf to be at perfect liberty. The intention of this ſtep was to remove all doubts with regard to the validity of her marriage. Orders were then given to publiſh the banns in the church between the queen and the duke of Orkney; for that was the title by which he was now diſtinguiſhed; and Craig, a miniſter of Edinburgh, received a commiſſion for that purpoſe.

This clergyman, not ſatisfied with having, for ſome time, refuſed compliance, had even the courage to condemn the marriage openly in his ſermons; and he earneſtly exhorted all thoſe who had acceſs to the queen, to exert their utmoſt endeavours in order to diſſuade her from ſuch a ſcandalous alliance. Being ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for his conduct, he ſhewed a ſpirit and reſolution which might cover all the nobles with ſhame and confuſion, on account of their abject and puſillanimous behaviour.

He affirmed, that the earl of Bothwell, being guilty of adultery, could not, by the rules

rules of the church, be allowed to marry; that the divorce between him and his former wife, was plainly obtained by colluſion, as was evident from the ſhameful precipitancy of that ſentence, and the ſudden concluſion of his marriage with the queen; and that all the ſuſpicions which were formerly entertained with regard to the king's murder, would thence receive undoubted confirmation.

He therefore exhorted Bothwell, who was preſent, to deſiſt from the proſecution of his criminal enterprize; and addreſſing himſelf to the other counſellors, he charged them to employ all their influence with the queen, in diverting her from a meaſure, which would fix an indelible mark of infamy on her character.

Not content with this ſpirited remonſtrance, he took the firſt opportunity of acquainting the public, from the pulpit, with the whole of this tranſaction, and ſignified his apprehenſions, that, notwithſtanding all admonitions to the contrary, their ſovereign was ſtill determined to execute her fatal purpoſe.

"For my own part," ſaid he, "I have "already diſcharged my conſcience; and "yet again I take heaven and earth to "witneſs, that I abhor and deteſt that "marriage as odious and hateful in the

"ſight of God and man: but as the great, "I find, either by their conſent or ſilence, "are pleaſed to countenance the mea- "ſure, I entreat the faithful to pray fer- "vently to the Almighty, that a reſolu- "tion, ſo contrary to all law, reaſon, "and conſcience, may, by the Divine "bleſſing, be turned to the comfort and "advantage of the church and king- "dom."

Theſe ſpeeches gave great offence to the court; and Craig was again cited before the council, to anſwer for his preſumption. But he told them, that the bounds of his commiſſion were the word of God, good laws, and natural reaſon; and was the queen's marriage to be examined by any of theſe ſtandards; it ſhould be found to be impious and diſhonourable, and would be ſo eſteemed by the whole world. The council were ſo overawed by this bold and heroic behaviour in a private clergyman, that they were glad to diſmiſs him without further puniſhment or cenſure.

But though theſe remonſtrances might have opened the eyes of Bothwell and Mary, and might have acquainted them with the diſpoſitions of the people, as well as their own inability to oppoſe them; they were ſo blinded by the violence of their

their paſſion, that they ſtill reſolved to ruſh forward to their own deſtruction.

The marriage was ſolemnized by Adam Bothwell biſhop of Orkney, who had embraced the reformation, and who was afterwards depoſed by the church for this ſcandalous compliance. Few of the nobility attended at this ceremony: for they had, moſt of them, either through ſhame or fear, withdrawn to their own houſes.

The French ambaſſador Le Croc, an aged gentleman of honour and character, could not be perſuaded, though a dependant of the houſe of Guiſe, to countenance the nuptials by his preſence. Elizabeth remonſtrated with great vehemence, againſt ſuch a ſhameful alliance: the court of France made the like oppoſition: but tho' Mary was extremely ready in all matters of a political nature, to follow the advice of her relations in that country, ſhe was reſolved to pay no regard to their opinion in a point where the gratification of her favourite paſſion was concerned.

The great and important events which had happened in Scotland during the ſpace of three months had attracted the eyes, and excited the amazement of all Europe. A king aſſaſſinated with the utmoſt cruelty in the flower of his age, and in his capital city: the perſon ſuſpected and even

accuſed of that odious crime, permitted not only to appear publickly in every place, but admitted into the preſence of the queen, honoured with her confidence, and entruſted with the chief direction of her affairs; ſubjected to a trial which was carried on with the moſt glaring partiality, and abſolved by a ſentence, which ſerved only to ſtrengthen the ſuſpicions of his guilt; divorced from his wife, on pretences frivolous or indecent; and after all this, inſtead of ſuffering the ignominy due to his actions, or the puniſhment deſerved by his crimes, allowed openly, without oppoſition, to eſpouſe a queen, the wife of the prince whom he had murdered, and the guardian of thoſe laws which he had ſo groſly violated.

Such a quick and rapid ſucceſſion of events, ſo ſingular, and ſo deteſtable, is not to be found in any other hiſtory. They left, in the opinion of foreigners, a mark of infamy on the character of the nation. The Scots were deſpiſed and contemned all over Europe: they durſt ſcarce ſhow their faces in public; and after ſuffering ſo many atrocious crimes to eſcape with impunity, they were univerſally reproached as men entirely deſtitute of courage and humanity, as equally regardleſs of the repu-

reputation of their queen, and the honour of their country.

These reproaches aroused the nobles, who had hitherto been deceived by Bothwell's artifices, or overawed by his power. The arbitrary manner in which he exercised the authority he had acquired, his repeated attempts to seize the prince's person, and some rash menaces which he let fall against him, added to the violence and promptness of their resolutions. A considerable body of them assembled at Stirling, and engaged in an association for the defence of the prince's person.

Argyle, Athol, Mar, Morton, Glencairn, Hume, Lindsey, Boyd, Semple, Murray of Tullibardin, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Maitland the secretary were the heads of this confederacy. The earl of Murray, foreseeing the troubles which ensued, and being desirous to keep free from these dangerous factions, had, some time before, solicited and obtained Mary's permission to travel into France.

Lord Hume was the first in arms; and advancing with a body of eight hundred horse, he suddenly invested the queen and Bothwell in the castle of Bothwick. They found means to make their escape to Dunbar, while the confederate lords were collecting their troops at Edinburgh, and con-

concerting meaſures to accompliſh their purpoſe.

Had Bothwell been ſo cautious as to remain within the fortreſs of Dunbar, his enemies muſt have ſoon diſperſed for want of pay and proviſions; but hearing that the lords were fallen into diſtreſs, he was ſo imprudent as to take the field, and to offer them battle.

The armies met on Carberry-hill, about ſix miles from Edinburgh. The queen's forces were poſted to advantage on a riſing ground; the confederates advanced to the attack regularly and ſlowly, and with ſuch a caution as beſpoke their determined reſolution.

Mary's troops were alarmed at their approach, and diſcovered no inclination to fight. She endeavoured to animate them to the combat: ſhe threatened, ſhe flattered, ſhe reproached them by turns; but all to purpoſe. A few of Bothwell's immediate attendants were eager for the encounter: the reſt ſtood wavering and irreſolute, and ſome began to ſteal from the field.

Bothwell attempted to inſpire them with courage, by propoſing to decide the quarrel, and to aſſert his innocence in ſingle fight with any of his adverſaries. Kirdaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and lord Lindſey ſucceſſively offered to enter the

the lists against him. But this challenge proved a mere bravado. And the consciousness of guilt deprived Bothwell of his wonted courage, as the queen interposed her authority and forbade the combat.

Mary, unable to contend with the confederates in the field, was obliged to have recourse to treaty and negociation. She demanded a conference with Kirkaldy, a brave and generous man, who commanded an advanced body of the enemy. He, with the consent, and in the name of the leaders of the party, engaged, that, provided she would dismiss Bothwell from her presence, and rule the kingdom by the advice of her nobles, they would pay her all that deference and respect which they owed to their lawful sovereign.

During this parley, Bothwell took his last farewel of the queen, and rode off the field with a few followers. Conscious, however, that his life alone could attone for the crimes of which he had been guilty, he fitted out a few gallies, and sailed for the Orkneys, where he subsisted, for some time, by piracy.

He was pursued thither by Grange, and his ship taken, with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, acknowledged the share which they themselves

ſelves had had in that bloody tragedy, and ſuffered the puniſhment which they ſo well merited.

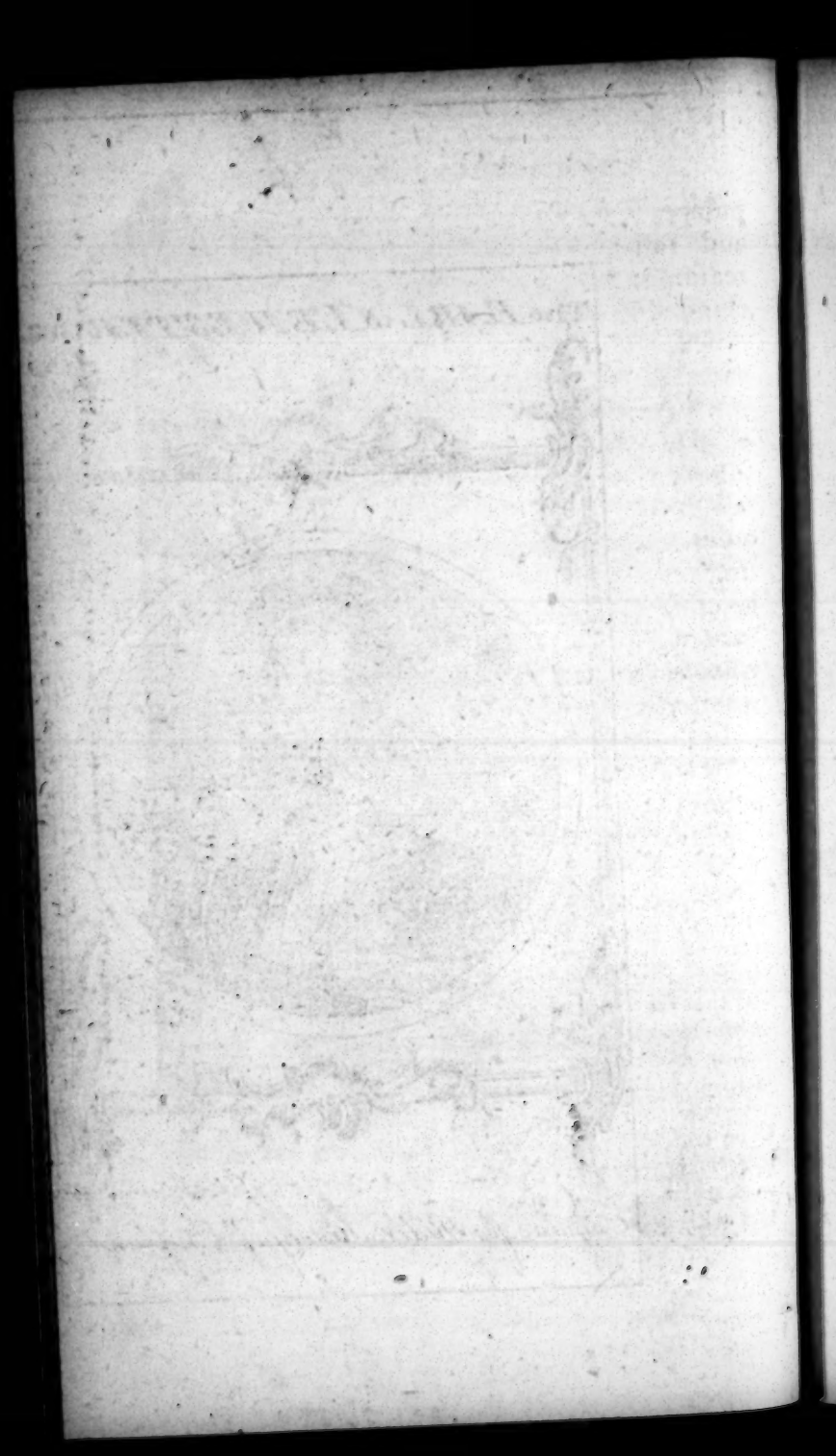
Bothwell himſelf eſcaped in a boat and found means to get a paſſage to Denmark, where he was ſeized as a pirate, committed to priſon, deprived of his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years afterwards: an end worthy of his abandoned conduct.

Mary had no ſooner ſurrendered to Kirkaldy, than ſhe was conducted to the confederate army, the leaders of which received her with much reſpect; and the earl of Morton, in the name of the reſt, made ample profeſſions of their future loyalty and obedience.

But ſhe was treated by the common ſoldiers with the utmoſt inſolence and brutality. As ſhe marched along, they loaded her with all the opprobrious epithets which are beſtowed only on the loweſt and moſt infamous criminals. Wherever ſhe turned her eyes, ſhe was preſented with a ſtandard, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, ſtretched on the ground, and the young prince kneeling before it, and uttering theſe words, "Judge and re-"venge my cauſe, O Lord!" Mary turned with horror from ſuch a ſhocking ſpectacle. She began already to feel the wretch-

DOUGLAS Earl of MORTON

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England



wretched condition to which a captive prince is reduced. She uttered the moſt bitter and piercing complaints, ſhe diſſolved into tears, and had ſeveral times almoſt fainted away.

The confederates carried her to Edinburgh, the ſtreets of which were filled with multitudes, whom zeal or curioſity had drawn together, to behold ſuch an unuſual ſight. The queen, exhauſted with fatigue, covered with duſt, and bedewed with tears, was expoſed as a ſpectacle to her own ſubjects, and conducted to the provoſt's houſe, where ſhe was lodged for the preſent.

The confederate lords had carried matters to ſuch extremities, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them either to ſtop ſhort in their career, or to adopt a more moderate ſyſtem of conduct.

Many of the nobles had refuſed to aſſiſt them in their enterprize; others openly condemned their proceedings. A ſmall circumſtance might allay that reſentment, with which the people were, at preſent, inflamed againſt the queen, and deprive them of that popular applauſe, which was the chief foundation of their power. For theſe reaſons ſome of them were inclined to treat the queen with great lenity.

But

But on the other hand, Mary's affection for Bothwell continued as violent as ever; ſhe obſtinately refuſed to liſten to any propoſals for annulling their marriage; and ſhe openly declared that ſhe would ſubmit to any hardſhips, and even reſign her power and dignity rather than abandon a man, for whoſe ſake ſhe had already ſuffered ſo many calamities. If they ſhould allow her to recover the ſupreme authority, the firſt exerciſe of it would be to recall Bothwell; and they had reaſon both from his reſentment, from her indignation, and from their own conduct, to dread the ſevereſt effects of her vengeance.

Theſe conſiderations overcame every other motive; and thinking themſelves abſolved, by Mary's incurable attachment to Bothwell, from the promiſes which they made her when ſhe ſurrendered herſelf a priſoner, they ſent her next evening, under a ſtrong guard, to the caſtle of Lochlevin, and ſigned a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her as a priſoner.

This caſtle is ſituated, in a ſmall iſland in the middle of a lake. Douglas, to whom it belonged, was a near relation of Morton's, and had eſpouſed the earl of Murray's mother. In this

this place, under a ſtrict cuſtody, with a few attendants, and expoſed to the inſults of a haughty woman, who pretended to have been lawfully married to James the fifth, Mary ſuffered all the rigour and miſeries of captivity.

Elizabeth, who was fully apprized of all theſe events, ſeemed deeply affected with the calamities of the unhappy queen; and as all her fears and jealouſies were now extinguiſhed by the conſideration of that ruin and infamy which Mary's conduct had brought upon her, ſhe began to reflect on the uncertain nature of human affairs, the precarious ſtate of royal grandeur, the danger of countenancing rebellious ſubjects; and ſhe determined to employ her intereſt and authority in relieving the diſtreſſes of her unfortunate ſiſter.

She diſpatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to Scotland, in order to mediate between Mary and the aſſociated lords; and ſhe gave him inſtructions, which, though mixt with ſome lofty pretenſions, were full of that good ſenſe, which ſhe diſcovered in all her actions, and of that generoſity which the preſent intereſting occaſion naturally demanded.

She ordered him to declare in her name to Mary, that the late conduct of that princeſs, ſo imprudent, and even ſo criminal in every reſpect, had excited her

higheſt indignation; and though ſhe pitied her unhappy fate, ſhe had once reſolved never to intermeddle in her affairs, either by advice or aſſiſtance, but to leave her to ſuffer the conſequences of her own folly: that ſhe was credibly informed, that other foreign princes, Mary's near relations, had taken the ſame reſolution: but, for her part, the late events had filled her mind with more tender ſentiments, and had made her embrace meaſures more favourable to the liberty and intereſts of the unfortunate queen; that ſhe was reſolved not to ſee her oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects, but would exert all her influence, and even her power, to deliver her from captivity, and reſtore her to ſuch a condition as might at once be conſiſtent with her dignity and the ſafety of her ſubjects: that ſhe beſought her to harbour no thoughts of revenge, except againſt the authors of her huſband's death; and as ſhe herſelf was his kinſwoman, ſhe had a better right than the ſubjects of Mary to interpoſe her authority on that head, and ſhe therefore conjured that princeſs, by the regard ſhe had for her own honour and ſafety, not to refuſe ſuch a juſt and reaſonable demand: that after theſe two points were ſecured, her own liberty, and the puniſhment of her huſband's aſſaſſins, the ſafety of her infant

ſon

ſon was next to be conſulted; and there appeared no method more proper for that purpoſe, than the ſending him to be educated in England; where, beſides the advantage of being free from the factions and convulſions which now prevailed in Scotland, he would have an opportunity of ſtudying the genius and temper of the Engliſh people, over whom he might one day happen to ſway the ſceptre.

The remonſtrances which Throgmorton was ordered to make to the aſſociated lords, were perfectly agreeable to theſe ſentiments which Elizabeth entertained in Mary's favour. After reproaching them, in the ſevereſt terms, with their arrogance and preſumption in daring to take arms againſt their ſovereign, and in violating that duty and reſpect which ſubjects owed to their lawful prince, ſhe required them to reſtore their queen to the enjoyment of her liberty; in which caſe ſhe ſhould heartily concur with them in every proper expedient for ſettling the government of the kingdom, for bringing the king's murderers to condign puniſhment, and for ſecuring the life and liberty of the infant prince; and ſhe concluded by obſerving, that if they duly conſidered the important ſervices which ſhe had lately performed to the Scots in delivering them from foreign uſur-

pation, they would be so far from rejecting the friendly tender of her good offices, that they would even accuse themselves of folly and ingratitude in having hitherto neglected to apply to her majesty.

These remonstrances, however, produced no effect. The confederates were sensible, that, notwithstanding the popular maxims by which Elizabeth governed her subjects, her notions of the royal prerogative were very exalted; and as they apprehended that the protection of such a powerful ally would render Mary more untractable, they thought proper to refuse the English ambassador all access to her person.

There were four methods proposed in Scotland for the treatment of the captive queen: the first was that she should be reinstated in the possession of her authority, under certain restrictions: the second, that she should be forced to resign her crown to her son, be expelled the kingdom, and be confined either to France or England; with assurance from the sovereign in whose dominions she should live, that she should never endeavour to disturb the tranquillity of the established government: the third, that she should be publickly tried for the murder of her husband, of which her enemies pretended they could convict her on the clearest evidence, and be condemned

to

to perpetual impriſonment: the fourth was ſtill more ſevere, and imported, that, after condemnation, ſhe ſhould be capitally puniſhed.

Throgmorton recommended the mildeſt propoſal; but, though he engaged, in his miſtreſs's name, for the performance of articles, menaced them with immediate vengeance in caſe of refuſal, and adviſed them not to expoſe themſelves by their violent proceedings, to the ſame odium, under which the queen now laboured; he found that, except ſecretary Lidington, he could not bring over any of the leaders to his ſentiments.

There were ſeveral perſons who pretended to the regency, after the depoſition of the unfortunate queen. The earl of Lennox laid claim to that dignity, as grandfather to the young prince: the duke of Chatelrault, who was abſent in France, aſpired to this honour as next heir to the crown: but the greateſt number inclined to the earl of Murray, whoſe capacity was abundantly equal to the arduous taſk, and whoſe popularity was moſt likely to reconcile the nation to the new eſtabliſhment.

The neceſſary meaſures being therefore concerted, three inſtruments were tranſmitted to Mary, by the hands of lord Lindeſey and Sir Robert Melvil; by one of which

ſhe was to reſign the crown to her ſon, by another to conſtitute Murray regent, and by the third to appoint a council, which ſhould manage the affairs of the nation till his arrival in Scotland.

The queen of Scots, deſpairing of all hopes of relief, being juſtly apprehenſive for her perſonal ſafety, and believing that no deed, which ſhe executed during her confinement, could be valid, was perſuaded, after ſhedding a flood of tears, to ſubſcribe theſe three inſtruments.

In conſequence of this reſignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the name of James the ſixth, and was ſoon after crowned at Stirling, the earl of Morton taking in his name the oath of coronation. On this occaſion a coin was ſtruck, on which was inſcribed a motto, implying a tacit juſtification of the conduct of the confederates: the motto was the famous ſaying of the emperor Trajan; *Pro me; ſi merear, in me:* "For me; if I deſerve it, "againſt me." Throgmorton was forbid, by his miſtreſs, to attend the coronation of the young king.

In a few months after theſe tranſactions, the earl of Murray arrived from France, and aſſumed the office of regent. He forthwith convoked a parliament; and that aſſembly, after voting that Mary was certainly an accomplice,

complice in her huſband's murder, condemned her to perpetual impriſonment, ratified her reſignation of the crown, and acknowledged her ſon for king, and Murray for regent.

Murray, who was a man of great abilities, exerted himſelf with diligence and ſucceſs in reducing the government to a ſettled form. He perſuaded Sir James Balfour to deliver up the caſtle of Edinburgh: he compelled the garriſon of Dunbar to ſurrender; and he diſmantled that fortreſs.

But, notwithſtanding the univerſal ſubmiſſion which was paid to the regent's authority, there ſtill prevailed in the kingdom many ſecret murmurs and cabals. The partizans of the houſe of Hamilton, conſidered Murray's promotion as an injury to the duke of Chatelrault, who, as firſt prince of the blood, had, in their opinion, the beſt right to the office of regent. All thoſe who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion, were naturally inclined to favour the intereſts of Mary: and even the people in general, though they had formerly deteſted her crimes, or condemned her imprudence, were now touched with pity for her unhappy condition, and lamented that a perſon, endued with ſo many amiable qualities, and poſſeſſed of ſuch high dignity, ſhould be

be ſubjected to ſuch hard and ſevere treatment. Moved by all theſe conſiderations, many of the principal nobility began to aſſemble at Hamilton, and to concert meaſures for ſupporting the cauſe of their unfortunate ſovereign.

Such was the favourable diſpoſition of the nation towards Mary, when ſhe recovered her liberty, in a manner no leſs ſurprizing to her friends, than unexpected by her enemies. She found means, by her charms and careſſes, to gain the confidence of George Douglas, her keeper's brother, a youth only in the eighteenth year of his age.

As ſhe was naturally of an eaſy and affable behaviour, ſhe treated him with the moſt flattering marks of diſtinction; and ſhe even allowed him to entertain the moſt ambitious hopes, by dropping ſome expreſſions as if ſhe would chuſe him for her huſband. At his age, and in theſe circumſtances, it was abſolutely impoſſible to reſiſt ſuch a temptation. He yielded, and drew others into the plot.

On Sunday, the ſecond day of May,* while his brother was at ſupper, and the reſt of the family were engaged in their devotions,

* A. D. 1568.

votions, one of his accomplices ſtole the keys out of his brother's chamber, and opening the gates to the queen, and one of her maids, locked them behind her, and threw the keys into the lake.

Mary flew to the boat which was prepared for her, and, on reaching the ſhore, was received with the utmoſt joy, by Douglas, lord Seaton, and Sir James Hamilton, who, with a few ſervants, waited for her. She inſtantly mounted on horſeback, and rode towards Hamilton, where ſhe was ſoon joined by numbers of the nobility, with their forces and dependants. A bond of aſſociation for her defence, was ſigned by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglington, Crawfurd, Caſſilis, Rothes, Montroſe, Sutherland, Errol, nine biſhops, nine barons, and a great number of the moſt conſiderable gentry. And, in a few days, ſhe found herſelf at the head of an army amounting to no leſs than ſix thouſand men.

Elizabeth was no ſooner apprized of Mary's eſcape, than ſhe diſpatched an ambaſſador into Scotland, to make a tender to that princeſs, as well of her good offices as of the aſſiſtance of her forces; but, as ſhe was afraid of the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, ſhe begged that the difference between the queen of Scots and her ſub-

ſubjects, might be ſubmitted entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign ſuccours ſhould be brought into Scotland.

But Elizabeth had not time to prove the ſincerity of her intentions in favour of Mary. The regent aſſembled his forces with incredible expedition; and, though greatly inferior to the queen of Scots in point of numbers, he ventured to take the field againſt her. The two armies met at Langſide, near Glaſgow, where, after a fierce and deſperate engagement, the confederates gained a complete victory, and Mary's troops were entirely diſcomfited. That unfortunate princeſs fled ſouthwards, from the field of battle, with great precipitation; and arrived, with a few attendants, on the borders of England.

She here began to conſult about the next meaſures which ſhe ought to purſue, and which, in all probability, would determine her future happineſs or miſery. To remain in her own kingdom, was inconſiſtent with her perſonal ſafety. To attempt eſcaping into France, was dangerous; and, in her ſituation, almoſt impracticable: nor could ſhe bear the thoughts of appearing as an exile, and a fugitive, in that kingdom, where ſhe had once enjoyed all the ſplendour of a queen.

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The late generous offers of Elizabeth made her hope for protection, and even aſſiſtance, from that princeſs; and as her preſent fears of her domeſtic enemies were the moſt urgent, ſhe neglected every other conſideration, and embraced the imprudent reſolution of taking refuge in England.

She went on board a fiſhing-boat in Galloway, and landed the ſame day at Werkington in Cumberland, about thirty miles diſtant from Carliſle; from whence ſhe immediately ſent a meſſenger to London, acquainting Elizabeth with her arrival, deſiring liberty to viſit that princeſs, and ſoliciting that aid and aſſiſtance which her former profeſſions of friendſhip gave her reaſon to expect.

Had Elizabeth been left, on the preſent occaſion, to follow the natural bent of her own mind, ſhe would probably have complied with the requeſt of the Scottiſh queen; but from ſuch a reſolution, which indeed would have been more generous than prudent, ſhe was ſoon diverted by the remonſtrances of her miniſter Cecil.

He repreſented, that the party who had dethroned Mary, and were at preſent poſſeſſed of the government of Scotland, had always been attached to the Engliſh alliance, and were engaged, by all the motives of religion and of intereſt, to perſevere in the

the ſame ſentiments: that Mary, on the contrary, even before her violent rupture with her Proteſtant ſubjects, was entirely guided by the counſels of the princes of Lorrain; much more would ſhe blindly ſubmit to their directions, when, by her own imprudence, ſhe had deprived herſelf of every other reſource but the power of that family, and of the zealous Catholics: that her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, would render her a dangerous inſtrument in their hands; and, were ſhe once able to extirpate the Proteſtants in her own kingdom, ſhe would engage the Scotch and Engliſh Catholics, together with thoſe of foreign ſtates, in one general confederacy againſt the religion and liberties of England: that it was therefore neceſſary for Elizabeth to be extremely cautious in re-eſtabliſhing her rival on the throne; and to take care, both that that enterprize, if undertaken, ſhould be accompliſhed by Engliſh forces alone, and that proper proviſion ſhould be previouſly made for the ſecurity of the Reformation, and the Reformers in Scotland: that it was requiſite, in a particular manner, to guard carefully the perſon of that princeſs; leſt, diſguſted with the ſlow, though prudent, proceedings of the Engliſh queen, ſhe ſhould ſuddenly reſolve to eſcape into France, and ſhould endeavour, by foreign force,

force, to retrieve poſſeſſion of her authority: that, were ſhe once abroad, in the hands of furious and bigotted Catholics, the attack of England would appear as eaſy as that of Scotland; and the only method, ſhe would think, of recovering her native kingdom, would be to acquire that crown, to which ſhe would imagine ſhe had an equal right: that, in ſuch a delicate and critical conjuncture, a neutrality could never be obſerved by the queen, without the moſt imminent danger; and the detention of Mary was equally neceſſary, whether the power of England was to be exerted in her favour, or againſt her: that, though the example of ſucceſsful rebellion, eſpecially in a neighbouring country, muſt be extremely diſagreeable to every ſovereign, yet Mary's folly had been ſo great, perhaps her crimes ſo atrocious, that the inſurrection of her ſubjects, after ſuch provocation, could be no longer conſidered as a precedent againſt other princes: that it firſt behoved Elizabeth to enquire into the nature and extent of Mary's guilt, and then to determine what degree of protection it would be proper to afford her: that, as it was commendable and praiſe-worthy to defend oppreſſed innocence, it was equally infamous and diſgraceful, to patronize vice and mur-

der on the throne: and that, if the crimes of the Scottiſh queen ſhould, on enquiry, appear as great and certain, as was believed and affirmed, every meaſure againſt her, which policy ſhould preſcribe, would thence be juſtified; or, ſhould ſhe happily be found innocent, every good office, which friendſhip ſhould ſuggeſt, would be conſidered as laudable and glorious.

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, Elizabeth determined to proceed in a ſeemingly friendly, but really cautious manner, with the queen of Scots; and ſhe immediately diſpatched the lady Scrope, ſiſter to the duke of Norfolk, with orders to wait upon that princeſs. Soon after ſhe ſent the lord Scrope himſelf, warden of the Marches, and Sir Francis Knollys, vice-chamberlain, to pay her reſpects to Mary.

They found her already lodged in the caſtle of Carliſle; and, after many expreſſions of ſympathy and condolence, they told her, that her requeſt of being ſuffered to viſit their ſovereign, and of being admitted into her preſence, could not as yet be granted: till ſhe had cleared herſelf of the murder of her huſband, of which ſhe was violently ſuſpected, Elizabeth could not, with any regard to her own honour, ſhow her the leaſt countenance, or appear indifferent

different to the aſſaſſination of ſo near a kinſman.

So unexpected a check drew tears from Mary's eyes; but, as ſhe ſaw no other method of extricating herſelf from her preſent difficulties, ſhe declared that ſhe would willingly vindicate herſelf to her ſiſter from all imputations, and would ſubmit her cauſe to the cognizance of ſo good a friend. Two days after, ſhe diſpatched lord Herreis to London, with a letter to the ſame purpoſe.

This conceſſion, which Mary could hardly avoid, without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the very point to which Elizabeth laboured to bring the matter: and ſhe inſtantly ſent Middlemore to the regent of Scotland; deſiring him both to deſiſt from any farther hoſtilities againſt the qneen's party, and to ſend ſome perſons to London, to juſtify his conduct with regard to his ſovereign.

Murray was ſomewhat ſurprized at a meſſage which had ſo much the appearance of a command; but, as his domeſtic enemies were many and powerful, and Elizabeth was the only ally upon whom he could depend, he was determined rather to digeſt the affront, than to forfeit the friendſhip of that queen by a refuſal. He alſo reflected,

that though Elizabeth had hitherto profeſſed a great regard and affection for Mary, her intereſt evidently led her to ſupport the king's cauſe in Scotland; and he had too high an opinion of the penetration and good ſenſe of that princeſs, not to imagine that ſhe would, in the end, diſcover this advantage, and would favour him with a fair and equitable hearing. He therefore replied, that he would himſelf repair to England, accompanied with other commiſſioners, and would willingly ſubmit his cauſe to the arbitration of Elizabeth.

Lord Herries was now ſenſible, that his miſtreſs had gone too far in her conceſſions: he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, that Mary could not, without impairing her royal dignity, engage in a conteſt with her rebellious ſubjects, before a foreign prince; and he inſiſted, that Elizabeth ſhould either afford preſent aid to his miſtreſs, or allow her to paſs over into France.

Being preſſed, however, with the former agreement before the Engliſh council, he again renewed his conſent; but, in a few days, he began afreſh to alter his opinion; and it was not without extreme difficulty, that he was perſuaded to acquieſce in the firſt reſolution. Theſe ſcruples, which continually returned, diſcovered plainly his diſ-

ſatiſ-

ſatisfaction with the meaſures of the Engliſh court.

Mary, herſelf, was no leſs averſe to the trial propoſed; and it required all the art and addreſs of Elizabeth, to make her adhere to the promiſe which ſhe had formerly given.

This latter princeſs ſtill affirmed, that ſhe did not deſire, without Mary's conſent and approbation, to enquire into the matter, and meant only, as a friend, to hear her vindication: that ſhe firmly believed there would be no difficulty in diſproving all the calumnies of her enemies; and even if her apology ſhould prove unſatisfactory, Elizabeth was ſtill reſolved to ſupport her cauſe, and obtain for her ſome reaſonable terms of accommodation: and that it was never intended that ſhe ſhould be brought to a trial with her rebellious ſubjects; but, on the contrary, that they ſhould be ſummoned to appear, and anſwer for their conduct towards their ſovereign.

Inſnared by theſe plauſible profeſſions, the queen of Scots conſented to juſtify herſelf, by her own commiſſioners, before the commiſſioners who ſhould be appointed by Elizabeth. Mean while, ſhe was removed from Carliſle to Bolton, a ſeat of lord Scrope's, in Yorkſhire, under pretence of

placing her in a more agreeable part of the country; but, in reality, with a view of depriving her of all hopes of effecting her escape, should she entertain any thoughts of that nature.

The persons named by the English council, for the examination of this important affair, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was fixed as the place of conference. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the lords Herreis, Levingston, and Boyd, with five persons more, appeared as commissioners from Mary. The earl of Murray, regent, the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindesey, and the abbot of Dunfermling, were deputed by the king and kingdom of Scotland. Secretary Ledington, George Buchanan, the celebrated poet and historian, and some others, were joined with them as assistants.

Mary's commissioners, before they preferred their complaints against her enemies in Scotland, entered a protest, that their appearance in the cause, should, in no manner, affect the independency of her crown, or be considered as a mark of submission: the English commissioners received this protest, but with a salvo to the claim of England.

The

The complaint of that princeſs was then produced, and contained a particular detail of all the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered, ſince her marrirge with Bothwell: that her ſubjects had taken arms againſt her, under pretence of delivering her from captivity; that, when ſhe ſurrendered herſelf into their hands, they had impriſoned her in the caſtle of Lochlevin; had crowned her ſon, an infant, in her place; had again taken arms againſt her, after her eſcape from priſon; had refuſed all reaſonable terms of accommodation; had attacked her troops; and had compelled her, for the ſafety of her perſon, to take refuge in England.

In anſwer to this charge, the earl of Murray gave a ſhort and ſummary account of the late tranſactions: he ſaid, that the earl of Bothwell, the known murderer of the late king, had, a little after the perpetration of that crime, apprehended the perſon of the queen, and carried her to Dunbar; that he ſo far gained on her affections, as to obtain her conſent to marry him, and had accordingly procured a divorce from his former wife, and pretended to ſolemnize his marriage with the queen; that the ſcandal of this tranſaction, the diſgrace which it reflected on the whole nation, and the danger which threatened the young prince from

from the attempts of ſuch an abandoned man, had forced the nobility to take up arms, and oppoſe his wicked deſigns and enterprizes; that after the queen, in order to ſave him, had delivered herſelf into their hands, ſhe ſtill retained ſuch an incurable attachment to him, that they were obliged, for their own and the public ſafety, to ſecure her perſon until Bothwell, and the other aſſaſſins of her huſband, ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment; and that, during this confinement, ſhe had voluntarily, without force or compulſion, reſigned her crown to her only ſon, and conſtituted the earl of Murray regent during the minority.

To theſe allegations the queen replied, that ſhe did not know, and never could ſuſpect, that Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a jury, and recommended to her by all the nobility as a proper huſband, was the murderer of the king; that ſhe ever had been, and ſtill was, deſirous that, if he be guilty, he may ſuffer the puniſhment due to his crime; that ſhe was compelled, by juſt apprehenſions for her perſonal ſafety, and even by direct menaces of violence, to reſign her crown; and that Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, as well as others of her friends, had perſuaded her

her to ſubſcribe that paper as the only means of ſaving herſelf from the cruelty of her enemies, and had aſſured her that a conſent extorted in theſe circumſtances, could never be conſidered as valid or obligatory.

Thus far the queen of Scots ſeemed plainly to have the advantage over her adverſaries; and the Engliſh commiſſioners would have had reaſon to wonder that Murray had made ſo weak a defence, and had concealed all the material imputations with which his party had ever loaded that princeſs, had they not been let into the ſecret by ſome previous conferences.

Mary's commiſſioners had pretended, that Elizabeth, from a regard to her kinſwoman, and from her deſire of defending the rights of princes, was reſolved, however unjuſtifiable the conduct of that princeſs might appear, to replace her on the throne; and Murray, reflecting on ſome paſt proceedings of the Engliſh court, began to ſuſpect that their hopes were but too well founded.

He imagined, that Mary, if he would agree to ſuppreſs the moſt violent part of the accuſation againſt her, would willingly liſten to any reaſonable terms of accommodation; but if he once preſumed to charge her with the whole of her ſuppoſed guilt,

no reconciliation could afterwards take place; and, ſhould ſhe ever be reſtored, either by the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, or the aid of her other allies, he and his party muſt feel the ſevereſt effects of her vengeance.

He therefore determined to take every poſſible precaution for his own ſafety, and not to venture raſhly on a ſtep, which might be attended with ſuch fatal conſequences. He waited privately on the duke of Norfolk, and the other Engliſh commiſſioners, acquainted them with his ſcruples, laid before them the evidence of Mary's guilt, and begged he might have ſome ſecurity for Elizabeth's protection, in caſe matters ſhould be brought to the laſt extremity.

Norfolk was highly pleaſed with this delicacy of the regent: he had ever been a zealous friend of the queen of Scots; and he had always endeavoured to promote her intereſt; he had even entertained the agreeable hopes of eſpouſing that princeſs: and, though he acknowledged that the proofs againſt Mary were, in his opinion, full and ſatisfactory, he adviſed Murray not to produce them publickly in the conferences with the Engliſh commiſſioners. Inclinable, however, as Norfolk might be to ſerve the cauſe of the queen of Scots, he was obliged to acquaint his own ſove-

ſovereign with the queries propoſed by the regent. Theſe were; Whether the Engliſh commiſſioners were empowered, by their queen, to pronounce any ſentence againſt Mary, in caſe her guilt ſhould be fully proved? Whether they would engage to exert that authority, and proceed to an actual ſentence? Whether the queen of Scots, if ſhe appeared guilty, ſhould be put into the hands of the regent, or, at leaſt, be ſecured in England in ſuch a manner as to prevent her from diſturbing the eſtabliſhed government of Scotland? and, Whether Elizabeth would, in that caſe, engage to acknowledge the young king, and ſupport the regent in his authority?

Elizabeth was no ſooner informed of theſe queries, and the other tranſactions, than ſhe began to apprehend that the diſpute would terminate more favourably for Mary, than ſhe either wiſhed or expected. She therefore reſolved to bring the matter into full light, and, under pretence that the diſtance from her perſon retarded the proceedings of her commiſſioners, ſhe commanded them to repair to London, and there to continue the trial.

As ſoon as they arrived in the capital, ſhe joined in commiſſion with them, ſome of the principal members of her council, Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of

of Arundel and Leiceſter, lord Clinton, admiral, and Sir William Cecil, ſecretary.

The queen of Scots, who was entirely ignorant of theſe ſecret motives, and who hoped that fear or ſhame would ſtill prevent Murray from proceeding to extremities againſt her, expreſſed an entire acquieſcence in this adjournment, and declared, that the affair being under the immediate cognizance of Elizabeth, was now in the hands in which ſhe had always deſired to ſee it placed. The conferences were accordingly continued at Hampton-court, and Mary's commiſſioners made no difficulty in attending them.

By this time, Elizabeth had given a ſatisfactory anſwer to all Murray's demands; and had ſolemnly declared, that, though ſhe hoped, from the preſent enquiry, to be fully ſatisfied of Mary's innocence, yet if the event ſhould prove contrary, and if that princeſs ſhould be convicted of her huſband's murder, ſhe ſhould, for her part, conſider her as altogether unworthy of a throne.

The regent, encouraged by this declaration, began to open more fully his charge againſt the queen of Scots; and after proteſting that nothing but the neceſſity of ſelf-

ſelf-defence, which muſt not be ſacrificed to any delicacy, could ever have induced him to take ſuch a ſtep, he proceeded to accuſe her, in plain terms, of having been acceſſary to the aſſaſſination of the king. At the ſame time the earl of Lennox appeared in court before the Engliſh commiſſioners; and imploring vengeance on the murderers of his ſon, accuſed Mary as an accomplice with Bothwell in committing that deteſtable crime.

When this charge was ſo unexpectedly preſented, and copies of it given to Mary's commiſſioners, they flatly refuſed to return any anſwer; and they aſſigned a very abſurd and ridiculous reaſon for their extraordinary ſilence: they had orders, they ſaid, from their miſtreſs, if any thing was advanced that might affect her honour, not to make any defence, as ſhe was a ſovereign and independent princeſs, and could not be ſubjected to any tribunal; and they demanded that ſhe ſhould be previouſly favoured with a perſonal interview with Elizabeth, to whom alone ſhe was reſolved to vindicate her conduct.

But they ought to have remembered, that the conferences were at firſt begun, and were ſtill continued, with no other view, than to clear her character from the aſper-

ſions which her enemies had thrown upon it; that Elizabeth had never pretended to examine the matter as her judge or ſuperior, but only as her friend, and by her own conſent and approbation; that that princeſs had, from the begining, refuſed to indulge her with a perſonal interview, till ſhe ſhould vindicate herſelf from the crimes of which her enemies accuſed her; that ſhe had therefore ſhewn no ſigns of partiality by adhering to that reſolution; and that though ſhe had given an audience to the earl of Murray and his colleagues, ſhe had previouſly granted the ſame favour to Mary's commiſſioners; and ſo far her conduct to both parties were entirly unexceptionable.

As the queen of Scots refuſed to return any anſwer to Murray's impeachment, the trial, of conſequence, ſeemed now to be finiſhed. But though this ſilence may juſtly be conſidered as a ſtrong preſumption againſt her, it did not fully anſwer the purpoſe of Elizabeth, who wanted to be poſſeſſed of the proofs of her guilt; and in order to draw them with decency from the regent, ſhe employed a very mean, but a very ſucceſsful artifice.

Murray was ſummoned before the Engliſh commiſſioners, and reprimanded by them,

them, in the queen's name, for the odious aſperſions which he had had the impudence to throw on the character of his ſovereign: but though the earl of Murray, they added, and the other commiſſioners, had violated the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen would never forget what ſhe owed to her friend, her neighbour, and her kinſwoman; and ſhe therefore demanded what they could alledge in their own vindication.

Murray, thus preſſed, made no ſcruple to produce the proofs of his charge againſt the queen of Scots; and among the reſt, ſome love-letters and ſonnets of Mary's to Bothwell, wrote all with her own hand, and two papers, one wrote with her own hand, another ſigned by her, and wrote by the earl of Huntley; each of which contained a promiſe of marriage with Bothwell.

All theſe papers had been kept by Bothwell in a ſilver box or caſket, which he had received in a preſent from Mary, and which had belonged to her firſt huſband, Francis; and though that princeſs had deſired him to burn the letters as ſoon as he had read them, he had thought proper to preſerve them as tokens of her affection, and had entruſted them to the care of Sir James Balfour, governour of the caſtle of Edinburgh.

When that fortreſs was beſieged by the confederates, Bothwell ſent a ſervant to receive the caſket from the hands of the governour. Balfour gave it to the meſſenger; but as he plainly perceived that Bothwell's affairs were entirely deſperate, and that he himſelf would ſoon be obliged to ſubmit to the ruling party, he took care to make his court to them, by tranſmitting private intelligence to the earl of Morton, who, in conſequence of this information, intercepted the ſervant, and ſeized the papers.

They contained inconteſtible proofs of Mary's criminal commerce with Bothwell, of her participation in the king's murder, and of her conſent to that rape which Bothwell had pretended to commit upon her perſon. Murray confirmed this evidence by ſeveral facts of a ſimilar nature; and he added, ſoon after, the dying confeſſion of one Hubert, or French Paris, as he was called, a ſervant of Bothwell's, who had been executed for the king's murder, and who directly accuſed Mary of having been privy to the commiſſion of that barbarous deed.

Mary's commiſſioners had exerted their utmoſt endeavours in order to avert this blow, which, they were fully ſenſible, would

would entirely ruin their cauſe. No ſooner had Murray begun to open his charge, than they attempted to interrupt the conferences, and to convert the enquiry into a negociation; and tho' they were told by the Engliſh commiſſioners, that nothing could be more injurious to the honour of their miſtreſs, than to engage in a treaty with ſuch undutiful ſubjects, before ſhe had cleared herſelf from the odious aſperſions which had been thrown on her character, they ſtill inſiſted that Elizabeth ſhould adjuſt the terms of agreement between Mary and her enemies in Scotland.

They affirmed, that till their miſtreſs had returned an anſwer to Murray's charge, his proofs could neither be demanded nor produced; and finding that the Engliſh commiſſioners were ſtill reſolved to continue the trial, they finally broke off the conferences, and never would make any reply.

All theſe papers have ſince been proteſted. The objections made to their authenticity are frivolous or abſurd, and have been fully refuted by ſeveral writers; but were they ever ſo ſpecious and plauſible, they cannot be allowed to have any force; becauſe Mary, by recoiling from the enquiry, at the very moment when the truth

might have been diſcovered, did, in effect, acknowledge her guilt, and ratify the evidence of her enemies againſt her.

Elizabeth was apprehenſive that her conduct towards Mary, might be liable to ſome miſconſtruction; and ſhe therefore reſolved to acquaint the moſt eminent perſons of her court with all theſe tranſactions, and to convince them of the equity of her proceedings. She convened the members of her privy-council; and in order to add to the ſolemnity of the ſcene, as well as to ſhew her candour and impartiality, ſhe joined with them the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon, and Warwick.

The whole proceedings of the Engliſh commiſſioners were laid before them; the proofs adduced by Murray were examined: the authenticity of the love-letters and ſonnets was aſcertained by comparing the writing with that of ſeveral letters which Elizabeth had received from Mary: the refuſal of the queen of Scots commiſſioners to make any reply was mentioned: and after conſidering all theſe circumſtances, Elizabeth declared, that as ſhe had, at firſt, judged it improper to favour Mary with a perſonal interview, until ſhe ſhould have cleared herſelf from the crimes of which her

her enemies accuſed her; ſo, now that her guilt was proved by ſo many plauſible evidences, and all anſwer denied, ſhe muſt, for her part, adhere to the ſame reſolution.

She then called in the queen of Scots commiſſioners, and after obſerving, that it would be more for the honour of their miſtreſs to continue the conferences, than to demand the liberty of vindicating herſelf in perſon; ſhe told them, that Mary might either tranſmit her anſwer by one of her own ſervants, or deliver it herſelf to ſome Engliſh nobleman, who ſhould attend her for that purpoſe: but as to her reſolution of giving no anſwer at all, ſhe muſt conſider it as the ſtrongeſt preſumption of her guilt; nor could they ever be her real friends who adviſed her to follow ſuch an imprudent courſe. In a few days after, ſhe wrote a letter to Mary herſelf, in which ſhe inſiſted on the ſame topic.

The queen of Scots had no other method to elude theſe preſſing inſtances, than ſtill to require the liberty of viſiting Elizabeth; a favour which, ſhe knew would never be granted: both becauſe that expedient could be productive of no good effect, and becauſe it would bring matters to extremity, which Elizabeth, above all things, wanted to avoid.

Mean

Mean while, in order to keep herſelf in countenance, Mary had recourſe to another device. Even after the conference was entirely diſſolved, ſhe ordered her commiſſioners to accuſe the earl of Murray and his colleagues of the murder of the king: but this impeachment, exhibited ſo late, occaſioned merely by a complaint of Murray's, and ſupported by no kind of proof, could only be conſidered as an angry retaliation upon her enemy. She likewiſe required to have copies of the papers delivered by the regent; but as ſhe ſtill perſevered in her reſolution to make no reply, this demand was finally refuſed her.

The regent was now impatient to return into Scotland, where his enemies were endeavouring, in his abſence, to raiſe ſome commotions. Elizabeth therefore diſmiſſed him, after having gratified him with the ſum of five thouſand pounds, in order to defray the expence of this journey.

During the conference at York, the duke of Chatelrault arrived at London, in his way from France; and as the queen knew that he was ſtrongly attached to Mary's party, and had ſome ſome claim to the regency of Scotland, ſhe detained him in England, till after Murray's departure.

But

But notwithſtanding theſe inſtances of favour, and ſome other aſſiſtance which ſhe ſecretly afforded to Murray, ſhe could not be perſuaded to acknowledge the young king, or treat with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Orders were given for conveying the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place ſurrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury in the county of Stafford; where ſhe was committed to the care of the earl of Shrewſbury.

Elizabeth hoped, that that princeſs, diſpirited by her late misfortunes, and confounded by the violent attack which had been made on her reputation, would be glad to ſecure a ſafe retreat from all the ſtorms and tempeſts, to which ſhe had been ſo long expoſed. She therefore promiſed to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either to make a voluntary reſignation of her crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government; and the adminiſtration, during his minority, to remain in the hands of the earl of Murray.

But that high-ſpirited princeſs rejected the propoſal with the utmoſt indignation. "Death," ſaid ſhe, "is leſs dreadful than "ſuch an ignominious ſtep. Rather than "give

" give away, with my own hands, the " crown which deſcended to me from my " anceſtors, I will part with life; but the " laſt words I utter, ſhall be thoſe of a " queen of Scotland."

The queen of Scots ſtill inſiſted on the alternative of two demands; either that Elizabeth ſhould endeavour to reſtore her to her throne, or ſhould allow her to retire into France, and ſolicit the aſſiſtance of other princes: and as ſhe affirmed, that ſhe had come voluntarily into England, in conſequence of many former profeſſions of friendſhip, ſhe thought that one of theſe requeſts could not, with any appearance of juſtice, be denied her.

But Elizabeth, foreſeeing the danger of agreeing to either of theſe propoſals, was ſecretly determined to detain her a captive in England; and as her retreat into that kingdom was far from being voluntary, her claim upon the queen's generoſity, was, by no means, ſo ſtrong, as ſhe was willing to pretend.

Nevertheleſs, as ſhe was reſolved not to come to an open rupture with Mary, ſhe reſolved to treat her with mildneſs and lenity, to flatter her conſtantly with the hopes of an accommodation, to carry on perpetual negociations with her, and ſtill to throw

throw the blame of their miſcarriage, either on unforeſeen accidents, or on the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of others.

We come now to relate ſome Engliſh affairs, which we purpoſely omitted, that we might not interrupt the narration of the events in Scotland, which compoſe ſo material a part of the preſent reign.

The term, ſtipulated in the treaty of Cateau-Cambreſis, for the reſtitution of Calais expired in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſeven; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, diſpatched Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; where, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her ordinary ambaſſador, he required the performance of that article.

This was a point, however, which they could not gain. The chancellor de l'Hopital told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that though France, by an article of the treaty, was bound to reſtore Calais at the end of eight years, there was another article, in the ſame treaty which now deprived Elizabeth of all the right which ſhe could derive from that engagement: that it was ſtipulated, if the Engliſh ſhould, during that period, commit hoſtilities on France, they ſhould inſtantly loſe all right to Calais; and the ſeizing of Havre and Dieppe, with

with whatever ſpecious pretences that meaſure might be covered, was a plain breach of the peace between the two nations: that though theſe places were not taken by force, but delivered to the Engliſh by the governours; theſe governours were rebels; and to countenance or ſupport ſuch undutiful ſubjects was the moſt intolerable inſult which could be offered to any ſovereign: that in the treaty concluded after the expulſion of the Engliſh from Normandy, the French miniſters had flatly refuſed to take any notice of Calais, and had thereby ſignified their intention to avail themſelves of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: and that though a general clauſe had been inſerted, containing a reſervation of all claims; this circumſtance could be of no uſe to the Engliſh, who at that time had no juſt claim to Calais, and had previouſly loſt all pretenſions to that fortreſs.

The queen was not greatly ſurprized at hearing theſe allegations; and as ſhe was ſenſible that Charles never intended to make reſtitution, much leſs, after he could defend his refuſal by ſuch ſpecious arguments, ſhe thought it more prudent to ſubmit to the loſs, than to engage in a dangerous and expenſive war in order to maintain a doubtful title.

When

When Elizabeth first took the resolution of detaining the queen of Scots a prisoner, she was abundantly sensible that such a measure would be attended with many inconveniences; nor was it long before she found that her apprehensions were but too well grounded.*

The duke of Norfolk was the only peer, who possessed the highest title of nobility; and, as there were at present no princes of the blood, the antiquity of his family, the greatness of his estate, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him indisputably the first subject in England. Nor were the qualities of his mind unworthy of his high station: humane, generous, affable, he had engaged the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, loyal, he enjoyed without envy the favour of his sovereign.

His grandfather and father had been always considered as the heads of the Catholic party; and this hereditary attachment, strengthened by the alliances of blood, had secured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that persuasion: but as he had been educated among the Reformers, was strongly attached to their

* A. D. 1569.

principles, and obſerved that ſtrict decorum and regularity of life, by which the Proteſtants were at that time diſtinguiſhed; he thereby enjoyed the ſingular felicity of being popular even with the moſt oppoſite factions. The height of his proſperity alone was the occaſion of his misfortunes, and betrayed him into attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would for ever have kept him free.

Norfolk was at this time a widower; and being nearly of the ſame age with the queen of Scots, a marriage between them appeared ſo natural, that it had occurred to ſeveral of their common friends: but the firſt perſon, who, after ſecretary Ledington, propoſed the ſcheme to the duke is ſaid to be the earl of Murray, before his return to Scotland.

That nobleman repreſented to Norfolk both the advantage of compoſing the diſturbances of Scotland by an alliance, which would be ſo agreeable to all parties, and the proſpect of ſucceeding to the crown of England; and in order to render the connexion ſtill more intimate, he recommended a match between the duke's daughter and the young king of Scotland.

The procuring previouſly Elizabeth's conſent was conſidered both by Murray and Nor-

Norfolk as a circumſtance eſſential to the ſucceſs of the project; and the neceſſary meaſures being fully concerted, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the deſign imparted to the queen of Scots.

Mary replied, that from the troubles ſhe had ſuffered in the courſe of her two laſt marriages, ſhe was rather diſpoſed to lead a ſingle life; but that ſhe was reſolved to ſacrifice her own inclinations to the welfare of the public: and therefore, ſo ſoon as ſhe ſhould be legally divorced from Bothwell, ſhe would follow the advice of her nobility and people in the choice of another huſband.

It is not likely that Murray was ſincere in this propoſal. He foreſaw, that ſhould the ſcheme take effect, the ruin of his own power, if not of his fortune, muſt be the neceſſary conſequence; but he had two motives to tempt him to diſſemble.

He knew the danger to which he muſt be expoſed in his return through the North of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, Mary's adherents in that country; and he was apprehenſive of an inſurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelrault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom ſhe had named as her lieutenants during

her abſence. By this artful contrivance, he both perſuaded Norfolk to write in his favour to the northern noblemen; and he prevailed on Mary to order her lieutenants to deſiſt from hoſtilities with the regent's party.

Though Norfolk had agreed, that Elizabeth's conſent ſhould be aſked and obtained before the completion of his marriage, he was too well acquainted with the jealous diſpoſition of that princeſs to expect that ever ſhe would make him ſuch a conceſſion. He therefore reſolved to ſecure the intereſt of the principal nobility and gentry; and, if poſſible, to form ſuch a powerful combination, that ſhe ſhould be no longer able to refuſe her compliance.

As he was extremely popular with men of all parties, his endeavours were attended with ſurprizing ſucceſs. The earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewſbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Suſſex, readily embarked in the ſcheme: the lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton embraced the propoſal with great cordiality; and even the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's declared favourite, who had formerly flattered himſelf with the hopes of eſpouſing Mary, willingly relin-

relinquiſhed all his pretenſions, and zealouſly promoted the intereſts of Norfolk.

But though theſe noblemen had ventured to engage in a project of ſo much importance without the knowledge or conſent of their ſovereign, they were determined to take no ſtep that might be deemed inconſiſtent with their duty to her or their country.

A letter was wrote to Mary by Leiceſter, and ſubſcribed by ſeveral men of the firſt rank, recommending Norfolk to her for a huſband, and ſtipulating certain conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms. Theſe were, that ſhe ſhould attempt nothing, in conſequence of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or to her poſterity; that ſhe ſhould agree to a league offenſive and defenſive between the two kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould confirm the preſent eſtabliſhment of religion in Scotland; and grant pardon to ſuch of her ſubjects as had appeared in arms againſt her.

As Mary readily aſſented to the articles, Norfolk began to proſecute his ſcheme with freſh vigour and application; and beſides ſecuring the intereſt of all the conſiderable courtiers, he wrote letters to ſuch of the nobility and gentry as reſided at

their country ſeats, and poſſeſſed the greateſt influence in the ſeveral counties. He even ventured to communicate the matter to the kings of France and Spain, who were warmly attached to Mary's intereſt, and who heartily approved of the projected marriage.

This laſt ſtep was the moſt imprudent of any which Norfolk had hitherto taken. A treaty concerning which he conſulted foreign princes, while he concealed it from his own ſovereign could not be deemed entirely innocent; nor was it poſſible that a confederacy ſo extenſive and complicated could long eſcape the penetration of Elizabeth. She dropt ſeveral hints to the duke, by which he might eaſily ſee that ſhe was acquainted with all his deſigns; and ſhe frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he laid his head: but he had never the courage or prudence to diſcloſe to her his full intentions.

The firſt information which ſhe received of this dangerous conſpiracy, was from the earl of Murray, who, if ever he was ſincere in the affair of Norfolk's marriage, which is much to be doubted, had at leaſt propoſed, for his own ſafety, and that of his party, that Elizaheth ſhould in reality, as well as in appearance, be the ſole judge

of

of the conditions, and ſhould not be compelled to give her conſent by any combination of her own ſubjects.

Elizabeth was greatly alarmed at this intelligence; and the more ſo, that theſe intrigues were accompanied with other circumſtances, of which, in all probability, that ſagacious princeſs was not entirely ignorant.

Among the nobility and gentry that ſeemed to favour the cauſe of Norfolk, there were many, who were blindly devoted to the Catholic faith, who had no other view than to deliver Mary from her confinement, and who would willingly, by a confederacy with foreign powers, or even at the riſk of a civil war, have advanced her to the throne of England.

The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the moſt powerful noblemen in the northern counties, were the heads of this party; and the former of theſe ſent word to the queen of Scots, by means of Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from captivity, and conduct her into Scotland, or any other place to which ſhe ſhould chuſe to retire.

Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, ſons to the earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerard,

Gerard, Rolſtone, and other gentlemen, whoſe eſtates lay in the neighbourhood of Bolton, embarked in the ſame deſign, and propoſed, that, in order to facilitate the execution of the project, a diverſion ſhould, at the ſame time, be made on the ſide of Flanders.

Norfolk diſcountenanced, and even, in ſome meaſure, ſuppreſſed theſe conſpiracies; both becauſe his duty to Elizabeth would not permit him to think of accompliſhing his purpoſe by rebellion, and becauſe he was ſenſible that if once the queen of Scots ſhould come into the hands of theſe men, they would rather chuſe to beſtow her in marriage upon the king of Spain, or ſome other foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to reſtore the Catholic religion.

At the ſame time, in order to ſilence the reports which had been ſpread againſt him, he affected to ſpeak contemptuouſly to Elizabeth of the Scottiſh alliance; alledged, that his eſtate in England was more valuable, than the revenue of a kingdom exhauſted by civil wars and factions; and ſaid, that when he diverted himſelf in his own Tennis-court at Norwich, amidſt his friends and vaſſals, he conſidered himſelf at leaſt as a petty prince, and was fully ſatisfied with his condition.

Find-

Finding that ſhe gave no credit to theſe aſſeverations, and that he was regarded by the courtiers with a jealous eye, he withdrew to his country-ſeat, without taking leave. He ſoon after repented of this ſtep, and ſet out on his return to court, reſolving to exert his utmoſt endeavours in order to recover the confidence of his ſovereign; but he had proceeded no farther than St. Alban's, when he was met by Fitz Garret, lieutenant of the band of penſioners, who conducted him to Burnham, three miles diſtant from Windſor, where the court was then kept. He was ſoon after impriſoned in the Tower, under the cuſtody of Sir Henry Nevil. Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, the queen of Scot's ambaſſador, was examined and confronted, with Norfolk, before the council: the earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe: Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were commited to cuſtody.

The queen of Scots herſelf was conveyed from Bolton to Coventry, a place of greater ſtrength; no perſon, for ſome time, was allowed to approach her; and the viſcount of Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntingdon, in the office of her keepers.

There

There had lately prevailed, in the northern counties, a general report of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Suſſex, preſident of York, alarmed at the danger, ſent for Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, in order to queſtion them on the ſubject; but as no proof appeared againſt them, he ſuffered them to return to their own habitations.

The report, however, daily gained ground; and as there was ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that it was but too well founded, Elizabeth ſent orders to theſe two noblemen to repair to court, and anſwer for their conduct.

They had already proceeded ſo far in their criminal enterprizes, that they were juſtly afraid to truſt themſelves in her hands: they had concerted the neceſſary meaſures for raiſing a rebellion; had imparted their deſign to Mary, and her miniſters; had engaged in a correſpondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries; had received his promiſe of a reinforcement of troops, and of a ſupply of arms and ammunition; and had perſuaded him to ſend over to London, Chiapini Vitelli, one of his moſt experienced officers, under pretext of compromiſing ſome diſputes with the queen; but, in reality, with a view

a view of assuming the command of the northern rebels.

The summons sent to the two earls, induced them to take arms before they were fully prepared; and Northumberland was hesitating between opposite dangers, when he received intelligence that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to seize him. He instantly mounted his horse, and rode with full speed to his associate Westmoreland, whom he found encompassed with his friends, and consulting about the measures which he ought to pursue in the present emergency.

They forthwith resolved to begin the insurrection; and their own credit and influence in the country, joined to that zeal for the Catholic religion which still prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drew to their standard an immense number of people.

They issued a manifesto, in which they declared that they meant to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they vowed inviolable fidelity; and that their sole design was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to punish evil counsellors, to settle the succession to the crown, and to restore the duke of Norfolk, and other faithful peers, to the enjoyment of their liberty, and the favour of their sovereign.

Their

Their number amounted to four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, and they hoped to be joined by all the Catholics in England.

In this dangerous and critical conjuncture, the queen exerted herſelf with her uſual ſpirit and activity; and as ſhe had, by her wiſe and prudent conduct, acquired the good will of her people, ſhe found no difficulty in raiſing an army. Even the Catholics, in moſt counties, expreſſed an attachment to her perſon and government; and the duke of Norfolk himſelf, though he had loſt her favour, and was deprived of his liberty, employed all his influence and authority in forwarding the levies among his friends and retainers.

Suſſex, accompanied by the earl of Rutland, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched againſt the rebels, at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and found them already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, of which they had made themſelves maſters. They fled before him to Hexham; and underſtanding that the earl of Warwick, and lord Clinton, were coming againſt them with a greater force, they were obliged to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow.

The

The common people withdrew to their own houſes: the leaders eſcaped into Scotland. Northumberland being found ſkulking in that country, was ſeized by the regent, and committed to the caſtle of Lochlevin. Weſtmoreland took refuge among the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partizans of Mary; and perſuaded them to make an incurſion into England, with a view of exciting a war between the two kingdoms. After they had ravaged the country to a great extent, they returned home with an immenſe booty; and Weſtmoreland found means to get a paſſage to Flanders, where he received protection.

This rebellion was ſoon followed by another, ſtill more raſh and imprudent, raiſed by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunſdon, at the head of the garriſon of Berwick, was able, without any other aſſiſtance, to ſuppreſs theſe inſurgents.

The unhappy people who had engaged in theſe criminal enterprizes, were treated with great ſeverity. Sixty-ſix petty conſtables were condemned to the gallows; and no leſs than eight hundred perſons are ſaid, on the whole, to have fallen by the hands of the common executioner.

But the queen's reſentment was ſo much mollified by Norfolk's behaviour, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, and, upon his engaging to relinquiſh all further thoughts of the Scottiſh alliance, ſhe allowed him to live in his own houſe, under a ſlight confinement.

Elizabeth was now ſenſible that the detention of Mary in England, would neceſſarily be productive of many bad conſequences; but as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of permitting that princeſs to enjoy her liberty, and to ſollicit aſſiſtance in all the Catholic courts of Europe, it behooved the queen to perſevere in the meaſure which ſhe had embraced, and to employ her utmoſt endeavours in preventing the miſchiefs with which it was attended.

She ſtill amuſed Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that princeſs and her enemies in Scotland, profeſſed the moſt ſincere regard for her intereſt, treated perpetually concerning the terms of her reſtoration; and, by theſe artifices, endeavoured both to hinder her from making any deſperate efforts for her delivery, and to ſatisfy the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who were continually attempting to procure her enlargement.

This

This hypocriſy was received with the ſame hypocriſy by the queen of Scots: inſincere profeſſions of friendſhip were returned, by profeſſions equally inſincere; and, while an appearance of amity was preſerved on both ſides, the violent animoſity, which had long ſubſiſted between them, was every day becoming more ſtrong and inveterate.

Elizabeth and Mary ſent letters, at the ſame time, to the regent. The queen of Scots demanded, that her marriage with Bothwell ſhould be reviewed by the proper judges, and, if found invalid, ſhould be diſſolved by a legal ſentence of divorce.

The queen of England propoſed three conditions in favour of Mary: that ſhe ſhould be re-inſtated in her authority, under certain reſtrictions: that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon, and the government continue in the hands of the regent, till the young prince ſhould arrive at the years of maturity, or that ſhe ſhould be ſuffered to live at liberty in Scotland as a private perſon, and have a maintenance aſſigned her ſuitable to her dignity.

Murray convoked a parliament, in order to conſider of theſe propoſals. No anſwer was given to Mary's letter, under pretence that ſhe had there maintained the ſtile

of a ſovereign, addreſſing herſelf to her ſubjects.

They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were ſo injurious to the authority of their young king, that they could not ſo much as take them into conſideration: the third alone could be the ſubject of treaty.

It is plain that Elizabeth, by propoſing conditions ſo very different in their nature, invited the Scots to reject thoſe which was moſt for the intereſt of Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſettle all the terms of the third, ſo as to render it acceptable to all parties, it was inferred that ſhe only meant to deceive the royal captive.

It is alledged, that Murray had engaged in a private negociation with the queen, to get Mary put into his hands; and as Elizabeth foreſaw that the detaining her in England would be the occaſion of perpetual cabals and inſurrections, ſhe would probably have been willing, on any ſafe or honourable terms, to rid herſelf of a priſoner who gave her ſo much uneaſineſs. But all theſe ſchemes were defeated by the death of the regent, who was murdered, in revenge of a private injury,

jury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton.*

By this unhappy event, Scotland was involved in its former anarchy. Mary's partizans flew to arms, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. Kirkaldy, governor of the castle, was supposed to favour her cause; and as many of the principal nobility were attached to her interest, it was generally imagined, though the bulk of the people detested her conduct, that her authority would soon gain the ascendant.

To check its progress, Elizabeth sent Sussex, with an army, to the North, under pretence of retorting the ravages committed by the borderers. He invaded Scotland, wasted the lands of the Kers and Scots, reduced the castle of Hume, and committed hostilities on all Mary's adherents, who, he said, had offended his mistress, by affording shelter to the English rebels. Soon after, Sir William Drury, at the head of another body, over-ran the lands and threw down the houses of the Hamiltons, who were attached to the same party. The English armies were afterwards recalled, by agreement with the queen of Scots, who engaged,

* A. D. 1570.

gaged, that no French troops ſhould be brought into Scotland, and that the Engliſh rebels ſhould be ſurrendered up to Elizabeth.

But though the queen, under pretence of revenging her own wrongs, ſo far contributed to ſtrengthen the king's party, ſhe was careful not to come to an open rupture with Mary; and ſhe even ſent a requeſt, which was equal to a command, to the enemies of that princeſs, not to chuſe, for ſome time, a regent in the place of Murray. Lennox, the king's grandfather, was therefore appointed temporary governor, under the title of lieutenant.

Underſtanding afterwards that Mary's adherents, inſtead of ſurrendering up Weſtmoreland, and the other fugitives, according to promiſe, had ſuffered them to eſcape into Flanders, ſhe allowed the king's party to give Lennox the title of regent, and ſhe ſent Randolf as her ambaſſador to reſide at the Scottiſh court.

But notwithſtanding this inſtance of partiality to Mary's enemies, ſhe ſtill maintained her ambiguous conduct, and preſerved the appearance of friendſhip with that princeſs. At the requeſt of the biſhop of Roſs, and her other agents, as well as of ſome foreign ambaſſadors, ſhe twice procured

cured a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the Scottiſh factions, and, by that means, checked the progreſs of the regent, who was likely to gain conſiderable advantages over the oppoſite party.

By this variable conduct, ſhe fomented the factions in Scotland, inflamed their mutual hatred, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of deſolation and bloodſhed.

The better to deceive Mary, Cecil and Sir Walter Mildway were ſent to her, with propoſals from Elizabeth. They were ſomewhat hard, and ſuch as a captive queen might expect to receive from a jealous rival.

It was demanded, that the queen of Scots, beſides relinquiſhing all claim to the Engliſh crown during the life-time of Elizabeth, ſhould agree to a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, between the two kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould eſpouſe no Engliſhman without Elizabeth's conſent, nor any other perſon without the conſent of the ſtates of Scotland; that reparation ſhould be made for the damage which the Engliſh had ſuffered in the late incurſions of the Scots: that the aſſaſſins of the late king ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment; that the young king ſhould be ſent into Eng-

England, to be there educated; that ſix hoſtages, all of them noblemen, ſhould be delivered to the queen of England, together with the caſtle of Hume, and ſome other fortreſs, for the performance of theſe articles.

Such were the terms upon which Elizabeth engaged to uſe her endeavours towards reſtoring the depoſed queen. In her preſent circumſtances, Mary would have been glad to accept of almoſt any terms, and ſhe readily aſſented to the conditions propoſed.

The Engliſh commiſſioners likewiſe recommended to that princeſs, a plan of accommodation with her ſubjects in Scotland; and, after ſome reaſoning on that ſubject, it was reſolved, that Elizabeth ſhould deſire Lennox, the regent, to ſend up commiſſioners to negociate a peace under her mediation.

The friends of Mary pretended, that all terms were fully adjuſted with the court of England, and that the Scottiſh rebels would ſoon be obliged to ſubmit to the reſtoration of their ſovereign; but Elizabeth took care to ſupport the ſpirits of the king's party, by circulating reports of a very different nature. Cecil informed the regent, by a letter, that all the propoſals of his miſtreſs, ſo far

far from being irrevocably fixed, were to be canvaſſed anew in the conference; and adviſed him to ſend commiſſioners who were firmly attached to the king's cauſe, and would not make any conceſſions that tended to the prejudice of their party.

Suſſex, likewiſe, in his letters, dropped ſeveral hints to the ſame purpoſe; and Elizabeth herſelf told the abbot of Dunfermling, whom Lennox had ſent to the Engliſh court, that ſhe would not attempt to reſtore Mary, provided the Scots could juſtify their conduct to her entire ſatisfaction; and that even, if their reaſons fell ſhort of full proof, ſhe would take effectual care to provide for their future ſafety.

The earl of Morton, the abbot of Dunfermling, and Sir James Macgill, were the perſons named by the Scottiſh parliament for conducting the treaty. Theſe commiſſioners firſt gave in a memorial, containing reaſons for the depoſition of their queen; and they ſupported their arguments with examples drawn from the Scotch hiſtory, with the authority of laws, and with the opinions of many famous divines.*

The high notion which Elizabeth entertained of the abſolute and indefeaſible right of ſovereigns, made her be offended

* A. D. 1571.

ſended at theſe republican principles; and ſhe told the Scotch commiſſioners, that ſhe was, by no means, ſatisfied with the reaſons they had urged in vindication of their conduct; and they might, therefore, proceed to name the conditions which they demanded for their ſecurity. They replied, that they had no power to aſſent to any terms which might derogate from the title and ſovereignty of their young king; but they would willingly hear what propoſals her majeſty had to make.

The conditions propoſed by the queen, were not unfavourable to Mary; but as the commiſſioners ſtill alledged, that they had no inſtructions to treat, in any manner, concerning the reſtoration of that princeſs, the conference proved ineffectual; and Elizabeth diſmiſſed the commiſſioners, with orders that they ſhould return, after having obtained more ample powers from their parliament.

The biſhop of Roſs complained bitterly of the diſingenuous conduct of the Engliſh council, who, he affirmed, had deceived his miſtreſs by fair promiſes and profeſſions; and Mary herſelf was, at laſt, convinced of Elizabeth's inſincerity. This diſappointment contributed greatly to inflame the animoſity which had ſo long prevailed between the two queens, and which

was

was farther encreaſed by another incident, which happened about the ſame time.

Pius the fifth, who had ſucceeded Paul in the papal chair, after having in vain endeavoured, by gentle means, to regain the friendſhip of Elizabeth, whom his predeceſſor's violence had exaſperated, publiſhed at laſt a bull of excommunication againſt her, deprived her of all title to her crown and dominions, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance.

It was generally believed, that this attack on the queen's authority was made with the knowledge and conſent of Mary, who propoſed by that means to promote the northern rebellion; a ſcheme, which was, at that time, concerted. John Felton affixed this bull to the biſhop of London's palace; and diſdaining either to fly or deny the fact, he was ſeized, tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor.

A new parliament, after an interval of five years, was aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the ſecond day of April; and in this ſeſſion the following laws were enacted.

It was declared treaſon, during the lifetime of the queen, to affirm, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign; that any other enjoyed a better title; that ſhe was an heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel; or that the

the laws and ſtatutes cannot fix and determine the ſucceſſion of the crown and the right of the ſucceſſion: whoever ſhould aſſert in writing, or printing, that any perſon, except the natural iſſue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or ſucceſſor, was, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned during a year, and to forfeit half their goods; for the ſecond offence, they were to incur the penalty of a præmunire. This law was directly levelled againſt the queen of Scots and her adherents; and plainly implied that Elizabeth never intended to name her ſucceſſor.

It is obſervable, that the uſual term of lawful iſſue, which the parliament thought indecent in ſpeaking of the queen, as if ſhe could be ſuppoſed to have any other, was changed into that of natural iſſue. But this alteration was a fund of much wit and humour during the time; and ſome people ſuſpected a deeper deſign, as if Leiceſter intended, in caſe of the queen's death, to impoſe one of his own baſtards on the public, as the offspring of her majeſty.

It was alſo decreed, that whoever ſhould publiſh bulls or other mandates of the pope, or ſhould, by means of theſe, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, ſhould

ſhould themſelves, as well as well as thoſe who were ſo reconciled, be guilty of treaſon. Whoever imported any Agnus Dei, crucifix, or ſuch other implement of ſuperſtition, was ſubjected to the penalty of a præmunire. The former laws againſt taking intereſt, which was called uſury, were enforced by a new ſtatute; and a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths was granted to her majeſty.

The duke of Norfolk, notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of his late attemp., and the imminent danger to which he h.d been expoſed, was once more tempte. to embark in the ſame hazardous enterprize.

There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had lived about fifteen years at London, and who, at the ſame time that he conducted his commerce in England, had managed all the intrigues of the court of Rome with the Catholic party. He had been committed to priſon on the diſcovery of the duke of Norfolk's intrigues with Mary; but whether it was that no charge was brought againſt him, or that the part he had acted was not very criminal, he was ſoon after reſtored to his liberty.

This man, zealouſly attached to the Catholic faith, had projected a ſcheme, in

concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for overturning the government by means of a domeſtic inſurrection and a foreign invaſion; and upon imparting his deſign, by letter, to Mary, he found, that, as ſhe was enraged at Elizabeth's artifices, and deſpaired of ever retrieving her authority, or even her liberty, by gentle meaſures, ſhe willingly embraced the propoſal.

Their chief hopes of ſucceſs were founded on the great number of diſcontented Catholics in England; and they likewiſe remarked, that the kingdom was, at that time, full of indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who having at preſent, by the late decay of the church, and the yet languiſhing ſtate of commerce, no means of procuring a livelihood ſuitable to their rank, were ready, on the firſt opportunity, to embark in any dangerous enterprize.

In order, however, to reduce theſe malecontents into one uniform and conſiſtent body, and to inſpire the whole with life and vigour, it was neceſſary, that ſome great noblemen ſhould be put at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the biſhop of Roſs, who was concerned in all theſe intrigues, ſo proper, both on account of his power and popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

This

This nobleman, when diſmiſſed from the Tower, had given his promiſe, that he would relinquiſh all thoughts of the Scottiſh alliance; but finding it impoſſible to recover the confidence of his ſovereign, and being ſtill, in ſome meaſure, deprived of his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and deſpair, to break his word, and to reſume the proſecution of his former project.

A promiſe of marriage was renewed between him and the queen of Scots; the duke engaged to ſupport her intereſts to the utmoſt of his power; and as his remorſe was gradually extinguiſhed in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, he was at laſt induced to give his aſſent to enterprizes ſtill more criminal.

Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva, governour of the Low-Countries, who had been previouſly engaged in the plot, ſhould, under ſome pretext, aſſemble a great quantity of ſhipping in the ſea-ports of Holland; ſhould tranſport a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, into England; ſhould land them at Harwich, where they were to be joined by the duke of Norfolk with all his friends; and ſhould thence proceed directly to London, and compel the queen to agree to whatever

terms the conſpirators ſhould think proper to preſcribe.

Norfolk approved of this plan; and three letters were wrote, in his name, by Rodolphi, to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spain; but the duke, apprehenſive of the conſequences, refuſed to ſign them. He only ſent a ſervant and confidant, called Barker, to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, as well to acquaint him with his approbation of the plan, as to aſſure him of the authenticity of the letters; and Rodolphi having procured a letter of credence from the ambaſſador, ſet out on his journey to Bruſſels and to Rome.

The duke of Alva and the pope embarked in the ſcheme with the utmoſt alacrity; Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their concurrence; and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue to the undertaking.

Norfolk, notwithſtanding theſe criminal deſigns, had never entirely forgot his duty to his ſovereign, his country, and his religion; and though he had formed a plan both for an invaſion and an inſurrection, he ſtill hoped, that the innocence of his intentions would apologize for the violence of his meaſures, and that, as his only view was to procure the liberty of the queen

of

CECIL Lord BURLEIGH
J. Hulett sculp
Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

of Scots, and Elizabeth's conſent to his marriage, he could not juſtly be regarded as a rebel and a traitor. It is probable, however, that, conſidering the ſpirit and reſolution of the queen, the ſcheme, if ſucceſsful, muſt have terminated in her dethronement; and her authority was evidently expoſed to the moſt imminent danger.

The conſpiracy had hitherto eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of ſecretary Cecil, who was now diſtinguiſhed by the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk, that they firſt received a hint, which being diligently traced, produced at laſt a full diſcovery.

Mary propoſing to ſend a ſum of money to lord Herries and her partizans in Scotland, Norfolk engaged to convey it to Banniſter, a ſervant of his at that time in the North, who was to find ſome means to have it tranſmitted to lord Herries.

This money was entruſted to a ſervant, who was not in the ſecret, and who was told that the bag contained a ſum of ſilver, which he was to deliver to Banniſter; but the ſervant, ſuſpecting from the weight and ſize of the bag that it was full of gold, carried it with the letter to Burleigh, who immediately cauſed Banniſter,

Baker, and Hickford, the duke's ſecretary, to be apprehended, and to undergo a ſevere trial.

Being threatened with the torture, they immediately confeſſed the whole truth; and as Hickford, though enjoined to commit all papers to the flames, had thought proper to ſecrete them under the mats of the duke's bed, and under the tiles of the houſe, full evidence now appeared againſt his maſter.

Norfolk himſelf, who knew nothing of the diſcoveries made by his ſervants, was cited before the council, and though exhorted to merit the mercy of his ſovereign by a full confeſſion, he ſtill continued to deny every article of the charge that was preferred againſt him.

The queen always declared, that if he had given her this proof of his ſincere repentance, ſhe would have indulged him with a free pardon; but finding him obſtinate, ſhe ſent him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought to his trial.

The biſhop of Roſs had, on ſome ſuſpicion, been taken into cuſtody before the diſcovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every method was uſed to make him diſcloſe the which ſhare he had had in the conſpiracy. He at firſt alledged that, as an ambaſſador, his perſon

perſon was ſacred; but he was told, that as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he could not be conſidered as an ambaſſador; and that even if that character was allowed, it did not warrant him in forming conſpiracies againſt the ſovereign in whoſe court he reſided. As he ſtill refuſed to anſwer any queſtions, he was informed of the diſcovery made by Norfolk's ſervants; after which he no longer ſcrupled to reveal the whole plot; and by his evidence the guilt of that nobleman was inconteſtably proved.

On the twelfth day of January,* the duke was brought to the bar, and a jury of twenty-five peers unanimouſly paſſed ſentence againſt him. The trial was quite regular, even according to the preſent method of proceeding; except that the witneſſes gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the priſoner; a laudable practice, which was not at that time introduced into trials of high treaſon.

Whether the queen was really influenced by friendſhip and compaſſion towards a peer of Norfolk's rank and merit, or that affecting the praiſe of clemency, ſhe only aſſumed the appearance of theſe ſentiments;

* A. D. 1572.

timents; certain it is, ſhe diſcovered a great reluctance to conſent to his execution. Twice did ſhe ſign the warrant for his death, and twice did ſhe recal the fatal ſentence; and notwithſtanding the importunity of her miniſters, who preſſed her to put the law in force, ſhe ſtill appeared irreſolute and undetermined.

A parliament meeting in the beginning of May, the commons preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, praying her, in the moſt earneſt manner, to proceed to the execution of the duke; and this ſanction, ſhe imagined, when joined to the greatneſs and certainty of his guilt, would, in the eyes of the impartial world, juſtify her ſeverity againſt that nobleman.

Norfolk ſubmitted to his fate with great courage and reſolution; and though he ſolemnly denied that he had ever entertained any diſloyal thoughts againſt the queen's authority or perſon, he frankly owned the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered. In a few months after, the earl of Northumberland being ſurrendered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was likewiſe brought to his trial, and condemned to die the death of a traitor.

The queen of Scots was juſtly conſidered as the real cauſe of all theſe inſurrections;

tions; but as ſhe was an independent princeſs, and might reaſonably think, from the cruel treatment to which ſhe had been ſubjected, that ſhe had a good right to employ every poſſible expedient for obtaining her liberty, Elizabeth was as yet afraid to proceed to extremity againſt her.

She only ſent lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Bromley, and doctor Wilſon, to expoſtulate with her, and to demand ſatisfaction for all thoſe parts of her conduct, which, from the beginning of her life, had given offence to Elizabeth; her bearing the arms of England, refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's conſent, encouraging the northern rebellion, practiſing with Rodolphi to perſuade the king of Spain to make a deſcent upon England, procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and permitting her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England.

Mary vindicated herſelf from the ſeveral articles of this charge, either by denying the crimes of which ſhe was accuſed, or by throwing the blame on others. But Elizabeth was by no means ſatisfied with her apology; and the parliament were ſo incenſed againſt her, that the commons addreſſed

dreſſed the queen, in the ſtrongeſt terms, for her immediate trial, and execution.

This, however, was carrying matters to a greater length than Elizabeth at that time intended; and having thus ſhewn Mary the dangerous precipice on which ſhe ſtood, ſhe expreſsly forbade the houſe to proceed any farther in the affair of that princeſs. Nevertheleſs, ſhe found it neceſſary both for her own and the public ſafety, to encreaſe the rigour and ſtrictneſs of her confinement, and to adopt a new ſyſtem of conduct with regard to the affairs of Scotland.

That kingdom was ſtill involved in a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had revolted to the queen; and the lords of that party, encouraged by this circumſtance, had taken poſſeſſion of the capital, and maintained a vigorous war with the regent. By a ſudden and unexpected incurſion, they ſeized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding that his friends, ſallying from the caſtle, were likely to deliver him, they inſtantly put him to death.

The earl of Marr ſucceeded him in the office of regent; and found the ſame difficulties to encounter in the government of that unhappy country. He was

was therefore obliged to employ the mediation of the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors, and procure a truce on equal terms with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous ſpirit, and ſcorned to be directed by Engliſh councils; and therefore Elizabeth, afraid of loſing the favour of the king's party, by her officious interpoſition, ſtill continued to obſerve a ſeeming neutrality between the oppoſite factions.

But the face of affairs was ſoon altered: Marr died of melancholy occaſioned by his exceſſive grief at the diſtracted ſtate of his country: Morton was elected regent; and as this nobleman had ſecretly taken all his meaſures with Elizabeth, who was now at full liberty to follow her inclinations, ſhe reſolved to exert herſelf more effectually in favour of that party, to which ſhe had always been attached.

She diſpatched Sir Henry Killigrew as her ambaſſador to Scotland, who found Mary's adherents ſo diſpirited by the diſcovery and puniſhment of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the king's authority, on receiving an indemnity for all paſt offences. The duke of Chatelrault, and the earl of Huntley, with the moſt conſiderable of Mary's partizans,

zans, laid down their arms on these conditions.

The garrison alone of the castle of Edinburgh still continued to hold out. Kirkaldy's fortunes were desperate; and he expected to receive assistance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged him in his obstinacy, in hopes of being able, from that side, to disturb the tranquillity of England.

Elizabeth was alarmed at the danger: she no more scrupled to come to an open rupture with the queen of Scots, who had made so many attempts against her authority; she had an entire confidence in the earl of Morton; and she was sensible, that, by the submission of all the considerable nobility, the pacification of Scotland was an undertaking no less easy than important.

She therefore commanded Sir William Drury, governour of Berwick, to march with some troops and artillery to Edinburgh, in order to besiege the castle. The garrison surrendered at discretion: Kirkaldy was put into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he was tried and executed: secretary Lidington, who had revolted with him, is supposed to have laid violent hands on himself; and Scotland being reduced

duced to an entire ſubmiſſion to the regent, gave not, during ſome time, any farther diſturbance to England.

The events which happened in France, were of a more complicated and important nature, and were not ſo conducive to the queen's intereſts, or agreeable to her inclinations. The conſpiracy formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the deſtruction of the Proteſtants, had not been conducted ſo ſecretly, but intelligence of it reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the Hugonots; and finding their ſuſpicions but too well confirmed by the meaſures of the court, they were reſolved to defeat the perfidy of their enemies, and to ſtrike a blow before the Catholics were aware of the danger.

The Hugonots, although diſperſed over the whole kingdom, were cloſely united, as well by their religious zeal, as by the dangers, to which they were conſtantly expoſed; and as they had an entire confidence in the conduct and capacity of their leaders, they obeyed their orders with the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion, and were ready, on the firſt alarm, to fly to arms.

The king and queen-mother were living in great ſecurity at Monceaux in Brie; when they found them, all of a ſudden, in-

veſted by Proteſtant troops, which had marched thither from all quarters; and had not they been reſcued by a body of Swiſs, who flew to their relief, and conducted them to Paris, they muſt certainly have fallen into the hands of the enemy. A deſperate battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Dennis, where, though the old conſtable Montmorency, the general of the Catholics was ſlain, the Hugonots were finally diſcomfited.

Condé aſſembling the ſhattered remains of his army, and receiving a conſiderable reinforcement from the German Proteſtants, once more took the field; and beſieging the city of Chartres, a place of great importance, compelled the court to agree to a new accommodation.

This, however, was of ſhort continuance; and the war was ſoon renewed with redoubled fury. The Catholics were commanded by the young duke of Anjou, brother to the king, who in 1569 fought a great battle with the Hugonots at Jarnac, where the prince of Condé was ſlain, and his army entirely routed.

This overthrow, with the loſs of ſo great a general, did not reduce the Hugonots to deſpair The admiral ſtill ſupported the cauſe; and placing at the head of the Pro-

Proteſtants the prince of Navarre, then in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the young prince of Condé, he exhorted the party rather to die like heroes in the field, than to fall like felons by the hands of the executioner. He aſſembled ſuch a brave and numerous army, that he was enabled to oppoſe the progreſs of the Catholics; and being joined by a freſh reinforcement of Germans, he compelled the duke of Anjou to retreat, and to divide his forces.

Coligni then inveſted Poitiers; and as the eyes of all France were fixed on this important object, the duke of Guiſe, deſirous of equalling the glory, acquired by his father in the defence of Metz, threw himſelf into the place, and inſpired the garriſon with ſuch courage and reſolntion, that the admiral was forced to abandon the enterprize.

Elizabeth's attention was deeply engaged by theſe civil commotions of France; and as ſhe conſidered her own intereſt as intimately connected with that of the Hugonots, ſhe was induced, notwithſtanding her natural averſion to all kinds of rebellion, to furniſh them ſecretly with ſome aſſiſtance.

Beſides employing her influence with the German princes, ſhe tranſmitted a ſum of money to the queen of Navarre, and received ſome jewels as a ſecurity for the loan: and ſhe allowed Henry Champernon to raiſe, and to carry into France, a regiment of an hundred gentlemen voluntiers; among whom Sir Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to diſcover the firſt ſpecimens of his military genius. Coligni, compelled by the ardour of his troops, and by the difficulty of maintaining them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, where he himſelf was wounded, and his army defeated.

Though the French court had ſeen ſo many inſtances of the ſpirit of the Hugonots, and the courage of the admiral, they vainly imagined that the force of the rebels was now entirely annihilated; and they therefore neglected to make farther preparations againſt a foe, who, they ſuppoſed, would never more become dangerous. They were ſurprized to hear, that that leader had appeared in another quarter of the kingdom; had inſpired the young princes, whom he directed, with the like fortitude; had collected an army; had taken the field; and was ſtrong enough to menace the capital.

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The public revenues, diminiſhed by the decay of commerce, and exhauſted by ſo many expenſive enterprizes, were no longer able to ſupport the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithſtanding his implacable hatred againſt the Hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to agree to an accommodation with them, to indulge them with a pardon for all their paſt miſdemeanours, and to renew the edict for liberty of conſcience.

Though a peace was ſeemingly effected, the mind of Charles was by no means reconciled to his rebellious ſubjects; and this accommodation, like all the former, was nothing but a ſnare, by which the perfidious court had propoſed to involve all its formidable enemies in utter ruin and deſtruction.

As the two young princes, the admiral, and all the leaders of the Hugonots, taught by paſt experience, entertained an extreme jealouſy of the king's intentions, and kept themſelves at a diſtance from court, every poſſible expedient was uſed to remove their ſuſpicions, and to convince them of the ſincerity of the new meaſures which ſeemed to be adopted.

The terms of the peace were exactly performed; the toleration was regularly ob-

ſerved: ſevere puniſhments were inflicted on all the zealous Catholics, who attempted to infringe it; offices, favours, and honours, were liberally conferred on the principal nobility among the Proteſtants; and the king and council declared, that, tired of civil commotions, and convinced of the impoſſibility of forcing mens conſciences, they were thenceforth reſolved to indulge every one in the free exerciſe of his religion.

Among other artifices, employed to quiet the apprehenſions of the Proteſtants, Charles pretended to enter into cloſe connections with Elizabeth; and as it was not the intereſt of France to promote the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princeſs imagined that the French monarch would prefer her friendſhip to that of the queen of Scots.

The better to amuſe her, propoſals of marriage were made her with the young duke of Anjou; and as Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her determined reſolution to lead a ſingle life, was extremely fond of addreſſes of courtſhip, the negociation was carried on for a conſiderable time; but was at laſt broke off by the duke's refuſal to change his religion; a point which Elizabeth regarded as a neceſſary condition.

Theſe

These base and perfidious arts, were unhappily but too successful. All the leaders of the Hugonots, the admiral excepted, were at last lulled into a fatal security; but that sagacious nobleman still continued in doubt and suspence. His suspicions, however, were finally conquered, partly by the profound dissimulation of Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to restore peace to to his country, and to return to the discharge of his duty to his prince and sovereign.

He likewise reflected, that as the former violent measures of the court had ever been attended with such fatal consequences, it was not improbable that a prince, who had just arrived to the years of discretion, and was not confirmed in any dangerous animosities or prejudices, might be easily persuaded to adopt a more moderate system of conduct.

Besides, as Charles was young, was of a fiery temper, and immersed in pleasure, it was natural to think that he could never have formed such a deep and complicated scheme, or, at least, could never have supported the deceit so artfully and so uniformly as he had hitherto done.

Influenced by these motives, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the Hugonots,

nots, began to lay aſide their former apprehenſions, and to repoſe an entire confidence in the treacherous careſſes and profeſſions of the court.

Elizabeth herſelf, notwithſtanding her great experience and ſagacity, never ſuſpected the ſincerity of Charles; and, happy to hear that her enemies of the houſe of Guiſe were deprived of all authority, and that an animoſity was every day growing between the French and Spaniſh monarchs, ſhe engaged in a defenſive league with the former, and conſidered this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walſingham, her ambaſſador, tranſmitted to her, by every courier, the moſt agreeable accounts of the honour and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

The more effectually to deceive the Hugonots, and decoy their leaders into the ſnare which was laid for them, Charles offered his ſiſter Margaret in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the moſt conſiderable Proteſtants, had reſorted to Paris, in order to attend the celebration of theſe nuptials, which, it was expected, would finally, if not compoſe the differences, at leaſt allay the violent animoſity of the two parties.

The

The queen of Navarre was poiſoned, by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerouſly wounded, by an aſſaſſin: yet Charles, by preſerving his diſſimulation, was able to amuſe the Hugonots till the eve of St. Bartholomew, the time prefixed for the general aſſaſſination of theſe unhappy people.

It belongs not to our ſubject to relate all the particulars of this bloody maſſacre, with which the French hiſtories are replete. The ſignal was the ſound of the palace-clock in the dead of night. The executioners were the Catholic ſoldiers, aſſiſted by the Popiſh militia of Paris, and conducted by the duke of Guiſe, who, like an infernal fiend at the head of his helliſh legion, broke into all the receſſes of unſuſpecting innocence, and murdered every Proteſtant that fell in his way, without regard to ſex, age, or condition.

The admiral was butchered in his bed: the chief gentlemen of the king of Navarre, of the prince of Condé, of the admiral, and other heads of the Proteſtant religion, were driven into a large court of the palace, and there ſlaughtered under the eye of the king, who enjoyed the ſacrifice, and, with a fowling-piece, from a window, diverted himſelf by ſhooting dead the

the few ſtragglers who were attempting to make their eſcape.

Next morning diſcloſed the ſhocking ſcene. Houſes, ſtreets, and ſquares, flowed with the blood of men, women, and children; ſome maſſacred in the arms, and ſome in the bellies, of their mothers. The ghaſtly looks of the dead, and the agonizing groans of the dying, were equally agreeable to the brutal hearts of bigotted Catholics.

The queen-mother drove over the bodies of the ſlain, and her chariot wheels daſhed about their blood and brains, while the king ſnuffed up the ſteams of ſlaughter, as incenſe offered to his own divinity, and his bloody religion.

About five hundred gentlemen, and men of rank, periſhed in this maſſacre; and near ten thouſand of inferior condition. Orders were immediately ſent to all the provinces, for a like general execution of the Hugonots; and in Roüen, Lyons, and ſeveral other cities, the people ſeemed to emulate the cruelty of the Pariſians.

Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, had been projected by the duke of Guiſe; but Charles, moved by their youth and inexperience, was reſolved to ſave their lives, though he compelled

pelled them to purchaſe their ſafety by a ſeeming change of their religion.

Charles, in order to apologize for this barbarous perfidy, alledged, that a conſpiracy of the Hugonots, to ſeize his perſon, had been ſuddenly diſcovered; and that he was obliged, for his own ſecurity, to have recourſe to this violent meaſure. He ſent orders to Fenelon, his ambaſſador in England, to demand an audience of Elizabeth, and to acquaint her with the circumſtances of the late tranſaction.

That miniſter, who was a man of honour and virtue, was ſo much enraged at the perfidy and cruelty of his court, that he openly declared he was now aſhamed to bear the name of Frenchman: yet was he obliged to obey his orders, and to uſe the apology with which he had been furniſhed.

His reception was ſuch, as, from the conduct of his maſter, he had reaſon to expect. Nothing could be more awful and affecting, than the ſolemnity of this ſcene. A gloomy ſorrow ſat on every face: ſilence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment: the courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each ſide, and allowed him to paſs without favouring him with

with one ſalute, or favourable look, till he was admitted to the queen herſelf.

That princeſs received him with a more eaſy, if not a more chearful countenance; and heard his apology without betraying any viſible marks of indignation.

She told him, that though the account, which he had given, might, if true, alleviate the guilt, yet would it by no means juſtify the conduct of the king's counſellors, or clear them from the imputation of perfidy and cruelty: that the ſame force, which, without reſiſtance, had butchered ſo many defenceleſs men, could eaſily have ſecured their perſons, and have brought them to a trial, and even to puniſhment, by a formal ſentence, which would have prevented the innocent from ſharing the ſame fate with the guilty: that the admiral in particular, being dangerouſly wounded, and encompaſſed by the guards of the king, in whoſe faith he ſeemed to repoſe an entire confidence, was altogether unable to eſcape, and might ſurely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes which were laid to his charge: that it was more becoming a wiſe ſovereign to reſerve in his own hands the ſword of juſtice, than to commit to cruel and bloodthirſty ruffians, who being the avowed and inve-

inveterate enemies of the perſons accuſed, employ it without mercy, and without diſtinction; that if the reaſoning was juſt, even ſuppoſing the conſpiracy of the Hugonots to be real; how much more, if that crime was nothing but a fiction of their enemies, contrived on purpoſe to effect their deſtruction? that if upon enquiry the innocence of theſe unhappy victims ſhould afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to pour his vengeance upon their enemies and accuſers, who had thus baſely abuſed the confidence of their ſovereign, had maſſacred ſo many of his brave ſubjects, and had done what in them lay to render him the deteſtation of his contemporaries, and to tranſmit his name with infamy to all ſucceeding ages: that for her own part, ſhe ſhould judge of the ſincerity of his intentions by his future conduct; and in the mean time ſhould act as deſired by the ambaſſador, and rather pity than blame his maſter for the extremities to which he had been puſhed.

Elizabeth was fully ſenſible of the delicate nature of her preſent ſituation. In the maſſacre of Paris, ſhe diſcovered the reſult of that general conſpiracy which had been formed for the extirpation of the Proteſtants; and ſhe knew, that ſhe herſelf,

as the head and protector of that religion, was exposed to the utmost fury and resentment of the Catholics.

Charles and Philip, two princes, who resembled each other in perfidy and cruelty, as well as in bigotry, had now compromised their pretended quarrel, and had engaged in the strictest bonds of friendship; and so soon as they had composed their domestic troubles, she had reason to dread the effects of their councils.

The duke of Guise also and his family, whom Charles, in order to amuse the admiral, for some time removed from court, had now regained an entire ascendant over his master; and she was sensible, that these princes, from personal, as well as political, motives, bore her an irreconcileable hatred.

The queen of Scots, their kinswoman and confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and though deprived of her liberty, she was actuated by a turbulent and ambitious spirit, and besides her foreign allies, was favoured by many and powerful adherents in the heart of the kingdom.

Influenced by these considerations, Elizabeth thought it more adviseable not to come to an open rupture with the French monarch;

monarch; but ſtill to accept the profeſſions of friendſhip, which he was pleaſed to make her. She even conſented to a renewal of the negociation for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother; that with the duke of Anjou being already broke off.

She ſent the earl of Worceſter to aſſiſt in her name at the baptiſm of a young princeſs, born to Charles; but before ſhe would give this mark of her friendſhip, ſhe thought it becoming her dignity to repeat her expreſſions of blame, and even of abhorrence, againſt the barbarities committed on his Proteſtant ſubjects.

Mean while, ſhe began to prepare for averting the ſtorm which ſeemed to threaten her from the united power and violence of the Romaniſts: ſhe repaired the fortifications of Portſmouth, equipped a formidable fleet, muſtered her militia, courted popularity with her ſubjects, aſſiſted the young king of Scots in reducing his kingdom to an entire ſubmiſſion, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no leſs enraged than herſelf at theſe treacherous and ſanguinary meaſures, ſo univerſally purſued by the Catholics.

But though Elizabeth was careful to preſerve an appearance of friendſhip with

Charles, her greateſt ſecurity againſt his violence, was derived from the difficulties he had to encounter in ſubduing the unconquerable ſpirit of the Hugonots.

Such of that party as lived near the frontiers, were no ſooner informed of the bloody maſſacres, than they fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland, where they excited the compaſſion and inflamed the indignation of the Proteſtants, and prepared themſelves with freſh forces and double zeal, to return into France, and revenge on their enemies the murder of their brethren.*

Thoſe who lived in the heart of the kingdom, took refuge in the neareſt fortreſſes poſſeſſed by the Hugonots; and finding that they could ſafely confide in no capitulations, and expect no mercy, were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity.

The ſect, which Charles had hoped by one blow to annihilate, had now an army of eighteen thouſand men in the field, and were maſters of more than an hundred cities, towns, and caſtles, in different parts of the kingdom; nor could that prince think himſelf ſecure from the invaſion with which

* A. D. 1573.

which he was menaced by all the other Proteſtants of Europe.

The nobility and gentry of England were inflamed to ſuch a pitch of reſentment, that they propoſed to raiſe an army of twenty-two thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to tranſport them into France, and to maintain them ſix months at their own expence: but Elizabeth, who was remarkably cautious in her conduct, and was apprehenſive of widening the breach between the two religions by theſe dangerous cruſades, refuſed her conſent, and reſtrained the zeal of her ſubjects.

The German princes, leſs circumſpect, and more regardleſs of the reſentment of France, encouraged the levies made by the Proteſtants; and the prince of Condé, having eſcaped from court, aſſumed the command of theſe troops, and prepared immediately to enter France.

The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorency, and many conſiderable men even amongſt the Catholics, diſguſted either by perſonal injuries or public proceedings, diſcovered an attachment to the cauſe of the Hugonots; and the whole kingdom was ſoon involved in the utmoſt anarchy and confuſion.

The king, instead of being sorry for his violent measures, which had been attended with such fatal consequences, began to renew his former severities, nor could even the mortal distemper with which he was affected, allay the rage and fury of his temper.

At last, Heaven, in pity to mankind, delivered the earth from such a perfidious and inhuman wretch. He died, without male issue, at the age of twenty-five years, leaving behind him a memory, which still is, and ever will be held in the utmost detestation and abhorrence.*

Henry, duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected king of Poland, was no sooner informed of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the crown of France; and found the kingdom not only distracted with the present disorders, but exposed to the danger of future calamities, which it was extremely difficult to prevent.

The people were split into two theological factions, actuated by the most furious zeal, and implacably incensed against each other from the injuries which they had either received or committed; and as all faith

* A. D. 1574.

faith had been violated and confidence baniſhed, it ſeemed a fruitleſs and deſperate attempt to endeavour to effect a compoſition between them.*

Each party had attached itſelf to leaders, whoſe commands were more implicitly obeyed than the orders of the ſovereign; and even the Catholics, whom the king favoured, were entirely directed by the councils of Guiſe and his family.

Henry, perceiving the low condition of the crown, had formed a ſcheme for reeſtabliſhing his own authority, by acting as an umpire between the parties, by allaying their zeal, compoſing their differences, and by reducing both to a dependance on himſelf.

He was endued with all the cunning, and policy, and addreſs, neceſſary for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigour, reſolution, and ſound judgment, he, inſtead of obtaining an aſcendency over both parties, loſt the confidence of both, and taught the partiſans of each to adhere more cloſely to their particular leaders, who diſcovercd a more hearty attachment to the cauſe in which they were engaged.

The

* A. D. 1575.

The Hugonots were ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of a German army, under the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir; but much more by the credit and influence of the king of Navarre, who, having eſcaped from court, had aſſumed the command of that formidable body.

Henry, in the proſecution of his plan, engaged in a negociation with them; and, being deſirous of preſerving a ballance between the ſects, he indulged them with a peace on the moſt favourable terms.*

This was the fifth general pacification made with the Hugonots; but though it was as deceitful on the part of the court as any of their former, it gave the higheſt offence to the Catholics, and furniſhed the duke of Guiſe with the deſired pretext for condemning the meaſures and maxims of his ſovereign.

That bold and daring leader embraced the ſame opportunity of forming his party into a more regular and conſiſtent body; and he laid the firſt foundation of the famous league, which, without regarding the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Hugonots.

Such

* A. D. 1576.

Such was the wretched condition of the kingdom, from the paſt ſeverities of its princes, that toleration and indulgence could be no longer practiſed; and an edict for liberty of conſcience, which would have probably ſatisfied the Proteſtants, inflamed the reſentment of the Catholics to the higheſt pitch.

Henry, in order to ſecure himſelf, and even the Hugonots, againſt the force of the league, declared himſelf the head of that ſeditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Catholics.* But his ſlow and dilatory proceedings, ſoon diſcovered his coldneſs in the cauſe; and, after ſome ineffectual attempts, he agreed to a new peace, which, though leſs advantageous than the former to the Proteſtants, gave no ſatisfaction to the Romaniſts.

Mutual jealouſy ſtill prevailed between the parties; the king's mediation was ſuſpected by both; each faction continued to prepare itſelf for that rupture, which, they were ſenſible, muſt ſoon happen; religious controverſy inflamed the animoſity of the ſects; and every private injury was converted into an occaſion of public quarrel.†

The

* A. D. 1577. † A. D. 1578.

The king hoping, by his policy and addreſs, to allure the nation into a love of pleaſure and tranquillity, was himſelf caught in the ſnare which he had laid for others; and being totally immerſed in debauchery and ſloth, he entirely forfeited the eſteem, and, in a great meaſure, the affections of his ſubjects.

Inſtead of promoting ſuch men of character and ability, as were violently attached to neither party, and of courſe might have been able to reſtrain the fury of the oppoſite factions, he beſtowed all his confidence on a ſet of young and giddy favourites, who, far from being capaple to ſupport his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and were likely to involve themſelves, and their ſovereign, in one common ruin.*

The public burthens, encreaſed by his prodigality and profuſion, and lying more heavy on an exhauſted kingdom, became another ſource of complaint; and the implacable rancour of parties, added to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open ſtate of foreign or even domeſtic war.

The civil commotions of France were of too intereſting a nature, not to engage the atten-

* A. D. 1579.

attention of the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's prudence and foresight, though somewhat checked by her frugal disposition, led her secretly to take some share in those important transactions.

Besides exerting, on all occasions, her influence and authority in favour of the Hugonots, she had privately advanced a considerable sum of money for levying that army of Germans which the prince of Condé, and prince Casimir, had brought into France; and, notwithstanding all her negociations with that court, and her professions of amity and friendship, she always considered her own interests as intimately connected with the success of the French Protestants, and the depression of the family of Guise.

The same motives which induced Elizabeth to support the Hugonots, prompted her likewise to assist the Protestants in the Low Countries, where they were exposed to the most cruel and barbarous persecutions.

The Reformation, which had now made such a considerable progress in all the different states of Europe, had, from the beginning, taken place in these provinces; and as the natives carried on a very extensive commerce, they had imported, from every

every kingdom with which they correſponded, a tincture of religious innovation.

There prevailed at that time, an opinion which had been zealouſly propagated by the prieſts, and implicitly believed by ſovereigns, that hereſy was naturally productive of rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church, muſt, in the iſſue, be attended with a like revolution in the ſtate and government.

The emperor Charles, who, under pretence of defending the Catholic faith, propoſed to enlarge his own authority, naturally and readily embraced theſe political principles; and, notwithſtanding the narrow prerogative which he enjoyed in the Netherlands, he iſſued the moſt arbitrary, cruel, and tyrannical edicts againſt the Proteſtants, and cauſed them to be executed with no leſs rigour and ſeverity.

It is computed, that, in the ſeveral perſecutions promoted by that monarch, no leſs than an hundred thouſand perſons fell by the hands of the common executioner.

But theſe ſevere remedies, ſo far from producing the deſired effect, had rather ſerved to encreaſe the numbers as well as zeal of the Proteſtants; and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral towns, finding their taſk equally

equally endleſs and cruel, were moved with compaſſion towards the unhappy ſufferers, and began to mitigate the rigour of their proceedings.

When Philip ſucceeded to his father's dominions, the Flemings were filled with the moſt terrible apprehenſions, leſt their prince, offended at the lenity of the magiſtrates, ſhould take the execution of the edicts from ſuch remiſs hands, and introduce the inquiſition into the Low Countries, attended with all the iniquities, and barbarities, which diſtinguiſhed it in Spain.

The cruel and unrelenting temper of the man, his ſtrong attachment to Spaniſh manners, and the obſtinate bigotry of his principles; all theſe circumſtances concurred to heighten their terror; and when he left the Netherlands, with a declared intention never to return, the inhabitants began to tremble for their liberties, and to dread the effect of thoſe tyrannical orders which their ſovereign, influenced by Spaniſh miniſters, would iſſue from his cabinet of Madrid.

He appointed the dutcheſs of Parma governeſs of the Low Countries; and the prudence and moderation of that princeſs, had ſhe been inveſted with the ſole power,

would have secured the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of perfidious and cruel politics which Philip affected during his whole reign.

The Flemings observed, that the dutchess enjoyed the bare name of regent; that cardinal Granville engrossed the king's confidence; that encroachments were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to convoke the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the edicts; and that, on the whole, they must soon expect to be reduced to the wretched condition of a province under the Spanish monarchy.

The disgusts of the nobility, encouraged the complaints of the gentry, which excited the mutiny of the populace; and all ranks of men discovered a strong inclination to revolt. Associations were formed, addresses presented, names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed, and the passions of the people, exasperated by feeble resistance, and instigated by religious zeal, were raised to such a pitch, that in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they openly attacked the established worship, plundered the churches and monasteries, demolished

liſhed the images, and committed the moſt violent and terrible diſorders.

The moſt prudent part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange and the counts Egmont and Horn, were extremely concerned at thoſe exceſſes, to which their complaints had at firſt given occaſion; and ſupporting the meaſures of the governeſs, they quelled thoſe dangerous inſurrections, inflicted puniſhment on the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a ſtate of order and ſubmiſſion.

But Philip was not ſatisfied with the reeſtabliſhment of his former authority: he imagined that provinces, ſo diſtant from the ſeat of empire, could be governed by a limited prerogative; and he therefore reſolved to make uſe of the late commotion, as a pretence for aboliſhing entirely the liberties of the Low Countries, and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary power.

In the execution of this ſcheme, he employed a man who was but too well qualified for ſuch a violent undertaking. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated entirely amidſt arms; and, having acquired a perfect ſkill in the military art, he was inclined to transfer into a government the rigid diſcipline of a camp,

and to admit of no measures between prince and subject, but those of absolute command and implicit obedience.

This general, in 1568, led from Italy to the Low Countries a formidable army of veteran Spaniards; and his declared hatred to the Flemings, with his known character, filled that whole people with terror and consternation.

It is foreign to our purpose, to relate at length those cruelties which Alva's barbarity, steeled by reflection, and inflamed by insolence, exercised on the inhabitants of those flourishing provinces. It is sufficient to observe, that all their privileges, the grant of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals formed; the counts Egmont and Horn, notwithstanding their great merits and signal services, brought to the block; numbers of all ranks committed to prison, and thence delivered over to the executioner: and though all men submitted, with the most implicit obedience, to the established government, nothing was heard of but forfeiture, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death.

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Elizabeth was equally alarmed at the ſucceſs of that ſcheme, which had been formed for the extirpation of the Proteſtants, and the erection of ſo great a military power, in a ſtate ſituated ſo near her own. She gave a friendly reception to all the Flemings who took refuge in her dominions; and, as many of theſe were the moſt induſtrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country ſo famous for its arts and improvements, ſhe had the happineſs to introduce into England ſome uſeful manufactures, of which that kingdom was formerly deſtitute.

Knowing that the tyrannical government of Alva could not be of long continuance, ſhe ventured to offer him an inſult, which ſhe would hardly have preſumed to hazard againſt a man of eſtabliſhed authority.

Some general merchants had contracted with Philip to tranſmit to Flanders the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns; and the veſſels which carried the money, had been attacked in the Channel by ſome privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had fled for refuge into Plymouth and Southampton.

The maſters of the ſhips alledged, that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen finding, upon enquiry, that

it was the property of Genoeſe merchants, ſeized it as a loan; and, by that means, deprived Alva of this ſupply in the time of his greateſt neceſſity.

Alva revenged this injury by ſeizing all the Engliſh merchants in the Low Countries, committing them to priſon, and confiſcating their effects. The queen retorted the violence, by treating the Flemiſh and Spaniſh merchants in the ſame manner; and granted permiſſion to all the Engliſh, to make repriſals on the ſubjects of Philip.

Theſe diſputes were ſoon after compromiſed by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants; but nothing could compenſate for the loſs which the Spaniſh government ſuffered by this unexpected and ſeaſonable blow.

Alva, deſtitute of money, and dreading the immediate deſertion of his troops, to whom large arrears were due, impoſed, by his ſole authority, the moſt grievous taxes on the people.

He not only demanded the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods: but he likewiſe exacted the tenth of all moveable goods, on every ſale: an intolerable tyranny, which would not only have deſtroyed all arts and commerce, but even

have

have interrupted the common intercourſe of life.

The people refuſed to ſubmit to his impoſitions; the duke had recourſe to his uſual expedient of hanging; and thus the animoſity between the Flemings and Spaniards, became every day more ſtrong and inveterate; nor was it long before it broke out into an open and violent rupture.

Some of the Flemings, who had been baniſhed their country, had found means to equip a few veſſels, with which they attacked all the Spaniſh ſhips that fell in their way; and bringing their prizes into the Engliſh harbours, they there diſpoſed of their effects, and purchaſed a ſupply of proviſions.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador remonſtrated warmly againſt this indulgence to his maſter's enemies; and Elizabeth, unwilling to diſoblige that monarch, was obliged to deny the Flemings all acceſs into her dominions. But this meaſure was extremely prejudicial to the intereſt of Philip.

Theſe deſperate exiles, deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence, were forced to attempt the moſt dangerous enterprizes; and they made an attack on the Brille, a ſea-

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port in Holland; where, though they at firſt met with ſome difficulty, they at laſt ſucceeded; and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, made themſelves maſters of the place.

The duke of Alva was alarmed at the danger; and ſtopping theſe bloody executions, which he was making on the defenceleſs Flemings, he flew with his army to extinguiſh the flame, which, falling on materials of ſuch a combuſtible nature, ſeemed to threaten a general conflagration.

He ſoon found that his fears were far from being groundleſs. The people in the neighbourhood of Brille, incenſed at that complication of cruelty, oppreſſion, inſolence and perſecution under which they groaned, ran to arms; and in a few days almoſt the whole provinces of Holland and Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and had openly declared againſt the government of Alva. This event happened in 1572.

William, prince of Orange, ſprung from a family of great luſtre and antiquity in Germany, poſſeſſing the fortune of a ſovereign family in France, had taken up his reſidence in the Low-Countries; and on account of his noble birth and immenſe riches, as well as of his perſonal merit, was

was univerſally conſidered as the greateſt and moſt powerful ſubject, who lived in thoſe provinces.

He had endeavoured by all regular and dutiful means, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Spaniſh uſurpations; and when Alva led his army into the Netherlands, and aſſumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the cruel diſpoſition of the man, and the deſpotic maxim of the court of Madrid, wiſely fled from the impending danger, and withdrew to his paternal eſtate and dominions in Germany.

He was ſummoned before the tribunal of Alva, was condemned in abſence, was denounced a rebel, and his large poſſeſſions in the Low-Countries were forfeited to the crown. Incenſed at this injury, he aſſembled an army of Proteſtants in the Empire; and endeavoured to deliver the Flemings from the tyranny of Spain; but all his attempts were defeated by the military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery, as well as diſcipline, of thoſe veteran Spaniards who ſerved under that general.

The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly governed, and where he was univerſally beloved, drew him afreſh from his retreat;

retreat; and gave him an opportunity of diſplaying all that courage, capacity and vigour, which he poſſeſſed in ſuch an eminent degree. By engaging the revolted towns in one general league, he laid the foundation of that illuſtrious commonwealth, the offspring of induſtry and freedom, whoſe acts and arms have long made ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure, and have at laſt raiſed it to its preſent pitch and grandeur.

He animated the inhabitants by every motive, which liberty, religion or reſentment could ſuggeſt. Though the preſent power of the Spaniſh monarchy might ſeem to deprive them of all hopes of ſucceſs, he ſtill flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with aſſiſtance from the neighbouring ſtates; and he exhorted them to ſuffer the utmoſt calamities of war rather than ſubmit to the government of their mercileſs tyrants.

To this ſpirit was owing the obſtinate defence of Harlem; a defence, which nothing but the moſt conſuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the maſſacre of more than two thouſand of the inhabitants.

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This act of barbarity, inſtead of intimidating the Hollanders, ſerved only to puſh them to deſpair; and the noble reſiſtance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally defeated, ſhewed them that their inſolent enemies were not wholly invincible.

The duke, convinced at laſt of the fatal effects of his violent meaſures, deſired to be recalled from the government: Medina-celi, who was named his ſucceſſor, declined accepting the charge: Requeſens, commendator of Caſtile, was ſent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574, leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boaſting, in his turn, that in the ſpace of five years which his government laſted, he had committed above eighteen thouſand of theſe rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner.

Requeſens, though a man of milder manners, could not allay the implacable animoſity, which the revolted Hollanders had conceived againſt the Spaniſh government; and the war continued to rage with its former fury.

In the ſiege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch broke down their dykes and ſluices, in order to drive them from that enterprize; and the very peaſants

ſants were active in deſtroying their corn by an inundation, rather than ſubmit again to the hated tyranny of Spain.

But notwithſtanding this repulſe, the governour ſtill continued the war; and the ſtruggle ſeemed too unequal between ſo mighty a monarchy, and two ſmall provinces, however ſtrengthened by nature, and however defended by the unconquerable ſpirits of the inhabitants.

The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was determined to apply for foreign aid, and to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of one or other of his powerful neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth.

The court of France was but too deeply tinctured with that ſpirit of tyranny and perſecution which actuated the Spaniards; and that kingdom, rent with civil factions, ſeemed not, at preſent, to have either leiſure or ability to give any attention to foreign concerns.

But England, long connected both by commerce and alliance with the Netherlands, and now more deeply intereſted in the fate of the revolted provinces by a ſympathy in religion, was more likely to undertake their defence; and as Elizabeth had juſtly conceived a violent jealouſy againſt Philip, and ruled her opulent and powerful kingdom in perfect tranquillity,

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it was natural to think, that her policy, her ambition, or her generosity, would induce her to lend them assistance in their present distress.

They, therefore, dispatched a solemn embassy to London, composed of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelle, Buys, and Melsen; and after presenting the most humble supplications to the queen, they offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in defending their liberties.

There were many reasons which might engage Elizabeth to embrace so generous a proposal. She was incensed at the injuries which Philip had done her by his intrigues with the malecontents in England and Ireland: she was alarmed at the erection of a despotic and military government in her neighbourhood: she was sensible of the danger to which she should be exposed from a total prevalence of the Catholics in the Low-Countries: and the maritime situation of those provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was a very tempting circumstance to a nation like the English, who were just beginning to improve their trade and commerce.

But this princeſs, though endowed with a high and lofty ſpirit, was by no means ambitious of foreign conqueſts; and the whole purpoſe of her vigilant politics, was to preſerve, by the moſt frugal and prudent meaſures, the tranquillity of her own dominions.

An immediate war with the Spaniſh monarchy muſt be a neceſſary conſequence of her accepting the ſovereignty of theſe provinces; and after undertaking the defence of the inhabitants, ſhe could never afterwards deſert them with honour, but, however deſperate their caſe might become, ſhe muſt ſtill continue to ſupport them, even farther than was conſiſtent with her intereſt or convenience.

She therefore refuſed, in plain terms, the offer that was made her; but aſſured the ambaſſadors, that, as a mark of her gratitude for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the ſtates had ſhewn her, ſhe would employ her influence in effecting an agreement, on the moſt reaſonable terms which could be obtained.

She accordingly diſpatched Sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and repreſented to him the danger to which the Low-Countries, as well as the revolted provinces, would be expoſed, if France could procure the leaſt reſpite from her domeſtic troubles, and find leiſure

leiſure to give her protection to that turbulent and diſcontented people. Philip ſeemed to be pleaſed with this remonſtrance; but no accommodation enſued, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever.

The Hollanders owed their delivery from their preſent calamities to a mere accident. Requeſens, the governour, being carried off by a ſudden death, the Spaniſh troops, diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, broke out into a moſt terrible mutiny; and involved every thing in the utmoſt anarchy and confuſion.

They ſacked and plundered the cities of Maeſtricht and Antwerp, and murdered a great number of the inhabitants: they menaced all the other cities with the like fate: and the whole provinces, excepting Luxenbourg, engaged in a league for their mutual defence, and implored the protection of the prince of Orange and the Hollanders.

A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, was concluded by common agreement; where the removal of foreign troops, and the recovery of their ancient liberties, were the objects which the provinces reſolved to purſue.

Don John of Auſtria, natural brother to Philip, being nominated governour, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the ſtates had taken ſuch prudent precautions, and that the Spaniſh troops were ſo ungovernable, that there was no poſſibility of aſſiſtance; and he therefore agreed to the terms propoſed. The Spaniards were recalled; and theſe provinces ſeemed to enjoy a ſhort interval of quiet and repoſe.

But it was hardly poſſible that a durable peace could be fully eſtabliſhed, while the king of Spain was actuated by a ſpirit of revenge and a luſt of dominion, and while the Flemings were ſo ſtrangely agitated by the reſentment of paſt, and the fear of future injuries.

The ambition of Don John, who choſe the great theatre for the exertion of his military ſkill, prompted him rather to inflame than allay the quarrel; and as he found the ſtates reſolved to confine his authority within very narrow limits, he violated all the articles of agreement, took poſſeſſion of Namure, and recalled the Spaniſh army from Italy.

This prince, naturally of an aſpiring genius, and encouraged by the ſucceſſes which had hitherto attended him in all his undertakings, had projected in his mind the moſt

moſt vaſt and unbounded enterprizes; and extending his views far beyond the reduction of the revolted provinces, had propoſed to marry the queen of Scots, and to obtain in her right the dominion of the Britiſh kingdoms.

Elizabeth was apprized of his ambitious deſigns; and ſeeing now, from the ruin of all the provinces, a probable proſpect of oppoſing the Spaniſh uſurpations, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to undertake the defence of their liberties, which ſeemed to be ſo intimately connected with her own ſafety.

After ſupplying them with a ſum of money, about twenty thouſand pounds, for their preſent neceſſities, ſhe entered into a treaty with them; by which ſhe engaged to aſſiſt them with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, at the expence of the Flemings; and to furniſh them with an hundred thouſand crowns, on receiving the bonds of ſome of the moſt conſiderable towns of the Netherlands, for being reimburſed within the year.

It was farther ſtipulated, that the commander of the Engliſh army ſhould have a ſeat in the council of the ſtates; that no ſtep relating to peace or war, ſhould be taken without previouſly imparting it, either to the queen or to him; that they

conclude no league without her consent; that if any difference happen among themselves, it should be submitted to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, should presume to make war upon her, they should send to her aid an army equal to that which she employed in their service. This alliance was signed on the seventh day of January, 1578.

The principal reason which induced the queen to engage in a treaty with the states, was to hinder them from throwing themselves into the arms of France; and she was desirous to persuade Philip that it was her sole motive. She declared to him, by her ambassador, Thomas Wilkes, that she had hitherto performed the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to return to his allegiance; and had even threatened him with her displeasure, in case of refusal.

She still persisted, she said, in the same friendly sentiments; and, as a proof of her sincerity, would venture to give her advice for accommodating the present differences: let Don John, whom she could not but consider as her inveterate enemy, resign the government; let some other prince, more

popular,

popular, be appointed in his place; let the Spaniſh troops be recalled; let the Flemings be re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of their liberties: and if, after theſe conceſſions, they ſhould ſtill refuſe to return to their duty, ſhe engaged to join her arms with thoſe of the king of Spain, and compel them to ſubmit. Philip concealed his reſentment againſt the queen; and ſtill continued to furniſh Don John with money and troops.

That prince, though once worſted at Remenant, by the valour of the Engliſh, under Norris; and though oppoſed, as well by the army of the ſtates as by prince Caſimi, who had brought into the Low Countrier a great body of Germans, obtained a conſiderable advantage over the Flemings at Cemblours; but was cut off in the flower of his age by poiſon, given him ſecretly, as ſuſpected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded the effects of his unbounded ambition.

The government was beſtowed upon the prince of Parma, who, uniting courage and clemency, vigour and addreſs, made great progreſs in reducing the revolted Flemings, and advanced the affairs of the Spaniards, as well by the prudence of his meaſures, as by the force of his arms.

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Elizabeth's attentions was now recalled from foreign concerns, by the critical ſituation of affairs in Scotland. The earl of Morton had hitherto retained that kingdom in a cloſe alliance with England, and had alſo re eſtabliſhed domeſtic tranquillity: but it was not likely, that the factitious authority of a regent would be long able to maintain itſelf in a country, unacquainted with law and order; where the natural dominion of hereditary princes was ſo frequently oppoſed and controuled.

The nobility began anew to ſplit into factions: the people were offended at ſome inſtances of Morton's avarice: and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenues, contributed to inflame the diſcontent of the other orders. The regent foreſaw the approaching danger; and having dropt ſome peeviſh expreſſion, as if he was willing to reſign the government, the noblemen of the oppoſite party, favourites of the young king, embraced ſuch a favourable opportunity, and demanded that diſmiſſion which he ſeemed ſo readily to offer.

James was only in the twelfth year of his age; yet Morton having, as he imagined, effectually provided for his own ſecurity by a general pardon, reſigned his authority

thority into the hands of the king, who now pretended to conduct, in his own name, the affairs of the nation.

The regent withdrew from the government, and ſeemed to devote himſelf entirely to his own private concerns; but either diſguſted with this inactivity, which appeared ſo inſipid after the buſtle of public life, or thinking it time to pull off the maſk, he returned again to court, and obtained an aſcendant in the council; and though he reſumed not the title of regent, continued to rule with his former authority.

The oppoſite party, after holding ſome private meetings, took to arms, under pretence of reſcuing the prince from captivity, and re-inſtating him in the free exerciſe of his government: queen Elizabeth interpoſed her good offices, and effected an agreement between the factions: Morton kept poſſeſſion of the government; but his enemies were numerous and powerful, and his authority ſeemed every day to be approaching towards its end.*

The count d'Aubigney, of the houſe of Lennox, couſin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France;

* A. D. 1580.

France; and being a young nobleman of a polite and insinuating address, he was judged by the duke of Guise to be a proper instrument for drawing off James from the English alliance, and attaching him to his mother and her relations.

He no sooner arrived at Stirling, where James resided, than he engaged the affections of the young monarch; and uniting his influence with James Stuart of the house of Ocheltree, who had acquired the king's confidence, he employed himself, under the appearance of plays and amusement, in infusing into the tender mind of the prince, new sentiments of politics and government.

He convinced him of the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain some thoughts, either of resigning the crown in her favour, or of giving her a share in the administration.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of these intrigues, than she dispatched Sir Robert Bowes into Scotland; accused d'Aubigney, now created earl of Lennox, of an attachment to the French; and advised James to beware of engaging in such suspicious and dangerous commotions. The king

king apologized for his conduct by means of his ambaſſador; and Lennox, regarding the queen as his enemy, was farther inſtigated to undermine the Engliſh intereſt, and particularly to ruin Morton, who was conſidered as the head of that party.

Morton was ſeized in council, accuſed as an accomplice in the late king's murder, thrown into priſon, brought to trial, and condemned to ſuffer the death of a traitor. He acknowledged that Bothwell had acquainted him with the deſign, had pleaded Mary's aſſent, and had ſolicited his aſſiſtance; but he denied that he had ever given his approbation to that crime; and in excuſe for his ſilence, repreſented the danger of diſcloſing it, either to Henry, who had no reſolution nor conſtancy, or to Mary, who ſeemed to have a capital ſhare in perpetrating the deed.

Elizabeth diſpatched Sir Thomas Randolph, to intercede in Morton's favour; and that ambaſſador, not ſatisfied with performing this duty of his function, perſuaded the earls of Argyle, Montroſe, Angus, Marr, and Glencairn, to engage in a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner.

The more to intimidate that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth cauſed a body of forces

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to advance towards the borders of Scotland; but this expedient, instead of producing the desired effect, contributed only to precipitate his fate.

Morton died with that courage and resolution, which he ever discovered in all the various scenes of his life; and, though blameable in some parts of his private conduct, he left behind him the character of an able and accomplished statesman.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

End of the TWENTIETH VOLUME.